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From the Editor's Desk

This year marks the 175th anniversary of the founding of Columbus, Georgia. One of the families moving here in 1828 was that of Richard Gray; their genealogy and history was explored in our last issue. One of his sons and a namesake, Richard Monroe Gray, wrote a memoir of his experiences in the Civil War which we begin publishing in this issue. A unique piece of Muscogee County history is thus made available for the first time in print. The journal is also pleased to publish the research of John Mallory Land on burials in the Clapp's Factory Cemetery. This is a "work in progress" and builds on the previous work of the late Buster W. Wright (available on the Society's website maintained by Lea L. Dowd). Members and friends of the Society are urged to contact John Land with any additional information for this valuable effort to salvage a piece of County history and genealogy. As always, the editor asks for your assistance in locating material on Muscogee County for possible publication.

DEDICATION

This issue is dedicated to the memory of

George Washington Murphy, III
(1914-2002)

Dorothy Julia Fletcher Murphy
(1913-2002)

Founding members of the
Muscogee Genealogical Society in 1976

**

And to the Memory of

Patricia Dodd Greathouse
(1935-2003)

Member of the Muscogee Genealogical Society

*THE CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCES OF RICHARD M. GRAY (1826-1909) OF COLUMBUS:
An Introduction to His "Reminiscences"*

by
Hugh I. Rodgers

With the assistance of his great-granddaughter, Mary Ann Vick Graves, of Decatur, Georgia, *Muscogiana* is pleased to begin the publication of Richard Monroe Gray's Civil War memoir. He composed the work in 1867 for the use of his son, Paul Gordon Gray, while the conflict was still vividly present in the author's recollection.¹ Gray wrote his reflections in a small (approximately 6" x 8") bound ledger book which over the years became severely damaged; the last section of the memoir has some missing and several torn pages. The book was also used (in a different handwriting) as a plantation account book in 1874 and 1875 and included recipes and home remedies. A crossed out draft letter dated September 30, 1872, further establishes the time frame of the work.

Gray's reminiscences reflect quite well the view points and attitudes of an enthusiastic Columbus supporter of the Southern Cause; it also reveals the author's outrage and disgust with defeat and the war's aftermath. Allowing for some nineteenth century eccentricities of spelling, punctuation and paragraphing, the manuscript shows the writer's keen observations of men in wartime as they alternated between the terrors of combat and the safety and camaraderie of camp life. He was a sharp observer of the landscapes he traversed and of the varied inhabitants of eastern Tennessee and Kentucky.

As a member of Co. H, 3rd Infantry Battalion, Georgia Volunteers, in the summer of 1862, Gray participated in the two-pronged Kentucky Campaign of generals Braxton Bragg and E. Kirby Smith. After the Army of Tennessee was formed, Gray's company became Co. K, 37th Infantry Regiment, his unit home thereafter. During 1863, his unit fought numerous engagements in Tennessee and north Georgia against the Union's Tullahoma, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga Campaigns, the latter including the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Thereafter, under new Army commanders, Gray fought in the long string of battles from Resaca to Atlanta where he was injured and captured by the enemy on July 22, 1864. Throughout, his comments on the Confederate and Union leadership are pithy and interesting.

Gray describes fairly the treatment he received during his ordeal of injury, capture, and as prisoner of war at Camp Chase, near Columbus, Ohio. The reminiscences conclude with thoughtful and, on the whole, balanced, evaluations of the commanders on both sides by an intelligent, well informed non-commissioned officer in the Confederate infantry. In this memoir Richard Monroe Gray left to later generations a valuable personal account of a defining episode in the history of the South.

¹R. M. Gray, *Reminiscences*. #2445, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The editor wishes to thank the Wilson Library and the Gray family for permission to publish this document. For biographical information on Richard Gray, see: "Some Genealogy and History of the Gray Family of Columbus, 1828-1900," *Muscogiana*, 13, No. 2 (Fall 2002), 1-20.

For the convenience of the modern reader, the editor has occasionally broken the text into paragraphs. Brackets are used to indicate any changes in spelling or word substitution, but punctuation and placement of capital letters are added without brackets. In order to facilitate understanding of Gray's work, a brief chronology of units and engagements follows.

July 1861 **3rd Infantry Battalion, Georgia Volunteers**
Organized near The Rock, Upson Camp Ground with three companies,
Lt. Col. Marcellus A. Stovall, commander.

Spring 1862. **Co. H, 3rd Infantry Battalion**
The nucleus of this company was recruited in Columbus by William
H. H. Phelps and called "The Lulu Guards". Richard M. Gray joined on
March 21, 1862 (his brothers James T. and Francis M. Gray also joined).
Phelps was elected Captain on April 22, 1862. This unit was sent to
Tennessee to become Co. H, 3rd Infantry Battalion.

Summer, 1862 **Defensive action, Cumberland area, Tennessee**

August -
October 1862 **Kentucky Campaign**
Battles of Richmond, Munfordville, Perryville

Nov. 1862 **Army of Tennessee, Braxton Bragg, commanding.**
Co.. K, 37th Regiment, Georgia Infantry.
The 3rd Infantry Battalion combined with the 9th Inf. Batt. to form the
new 37th Regiment. Most of original Co. H, 3rd Inf. became Co. K.

Dec. 1862-
Jan. 1863 **Battle of Stone's River (Murfreesboro) Tennessee**

June -
July 1863 **Battles against the Union's Tullahoma Campaign**

Sept. 1863 **Battle of Chickamauga, Georgia**
Due to injuries, Capt. Phelps was replaced by Lt. Philip H. Alston, also
of Columbus, just prior to Chickamauga.

Nov. 1863 **Battles for Chattanooga: Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge**
(Bragg replaced as Army Commander by **Joseph E. Johnston.**)

May -
July 1864 **Battles against Sherman's Drive to Atlanta**
Battle of Resaca May 14-15, 1864
Battle of New Hope Church, May 25-28, 1864
Battle of Kennesaw Mountain June 27, 1864
(**John Bell Hood** replaced Joseph E. Johnston, July 17, 1864)
Battle of Peachtree Creek, July 20, 1864
Battle of Atlanta, July 22, 1864
Wounding and capture of 1st Sgt. Richard M. Gray

Aug 1864-
Mar 1865

Camp Chase, Prisoner of War Camp, Columbus, Ohio

Editor's Note: As readers are aware, there is a forbidding array of documentary sources (printed and on microfilm), memoirs, autobiographies, biographies, journals, scholarly books and articles, and a notable television series, on all aspects of the American Civil War. Popular interest has generated literally thousands of Internet web sites devoted to the men, places, and battles of the war: just type a name into the search engine. From this vast literature, one can point to a few items only. The basic source remains *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [usually cited as *OR*] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901); consult *The General Index*, published as Vol. 130. The multivolume collection written by participants and contemporaries, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Co., 1887- 1888) is an excellent source. The index to the series *Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia*, Lillian Henderson, comp. (Atlanta, GA, 1955, et seq.) and Virgil White, *Index to Confederate Pension Files* (Waynesboro, TN: National Historical Publishing Co., 1996) are necessary tools. A handy guide to units is provided by Joseph H. Crute, *Units of the Confederate States Army* (Midlothian, VA: Derwent Books, 1987). Readable and informative on men, campaigns, battles, places, and mercifully concise on each, is *The Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, Patricia L. Faust, ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1986). Local researchers should start with the Genealogical and Historical Room of the Bradley Library with its collection of Civil War reference works; the Schwob Library of Columbus State University should be consulted for reference and documentary collections and for older as well as recent scholarly publications. For Columbus in the Civil War, the short work by Diffie William Standard, *Columbus, Georgia, in the Confederacy* (New York: William Frederick Press, 1954) is still useful.



Richard Monroe Gray

(born 17 Feb. 1826, died 19 July 1909)

A resident of Columbus, Georgia, from 1828
to about 1875, he served in the Confederate
forces from 1862-1865.

First page of the manuscript. Reminiscences,
original document # 2445, Southern Historical
Collection,
The Wilson Library,
The University of North Carolina at Chapel
Hill. Used by permission.

My Dear Son,

The attempted "Revolution
of 1861 in what is now whilst I
write, called the "United States" brought
about by the Secession of all the
"Southern States from the "Union" has
been so eventful a period in my
life, and so full of matter of vast
import to you, as well as those who
shall succeed you, that I deem it
a duty and no less a pleasure to
place on record for your private
study and I trust your gratification
a - short account of the causes
which led to the act of "Secession"
and subsequently "War" between the
"North and South".
The final defeat of the "South"
and a narrative of my personal
services and adventures during
the struggle, for Constitutional
Rights guaranteed to us by the
Courage and devotion of our Path-
ers during the unequal conflict
for Liberty with Great Britain in
1776 to 1781.

REMINISCENCES, PART I

by

Richard M. Gray

My Dear Son,

The attempted "Revolution" of 1861 in what is now, whilst I write, called the "United States" brought about by the Secession of all the "Southern States from the "Union" has been so eventful a period in my life, and so full of matter of vast import to you as well as those who shall succeed you, that I deem it a duty and no less a pleasure to place on record for your private study and I trust your gratification a - short account of the causes which led to the act of "Secession," and subsequently "War" between the "North and South."

The final defeat of the "South" and a narrative of my personal services and adventures during the struggle for constitutional rights guaranteed to us by the courage and devotion of our Fathers during the unequal conflict for Liberty with Great Britain in 1776 to 1781.

It is claimed by "Northern Men" now, and will be insisted upon in the future by "Sectional Historians" that the "South" had no just cause of complaint, and that her brave people permitted themselves dragged into the act of Secession by ambitious men amongst them, who failing to reach place and power in the Government sought to disrupt the Union and organize another nationality and thus reach honors which they could never hope to attain in the old Government. Such an imputation so far as the People of the South are impugned, is as false, as it is slanderous. For Thirty years prior to the Election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency the South had cause for complaint, and that event was but the natural result of the principles of a Party which had recorded its antagonism to the South in the National Legislation, at the Polls, in Schools, in Books and in their churches. Hatred to our institutions could but lead to contempt for our people and indignity and contumely was daily heaped upon the people of the South. Outraged in person, despoiled of property, denied equal rights in common territory of the nation, is it any wonder that we at last turned upon our enemies and said thus far shalt thou go.

History my son does not furnish a parallel to the deep determination and widespread enthusiasm which steeled and fired the hearts of the people of the "South." Hoary headed sires, warm hearted youth, the ignorant with the learned, regardless of sex demanded instant and final separation from a Union once loved, but now abhorred and detested. The immediate cause of this determination of the South to secede, was the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency a sectional man nominated and elected upon purely sectional grounds and of course hostile to every interest of the "South" conflicting with his preconceived opinions and avowed principles. The people of the "North" knew the ultimatum of the South. We had in a spirit of conciliation surrendered principle. Constitutional guarantees had been shorn of former force and vigor to appease this Northern Monster, appeals to fraternal feeling, entreaty upon entreaty and finally we thought to stay disruption by threats. Turning a deaf ear to every consideration offered, they, in a spirit of Bravado, elected Mr. Lincoln by a large majority and thus let loose "the Dogs of War."

Having thus forced upon us to live the slaves of an incensed and heartless majority, the people of the South as before remarked enthused beyond expression by the wrongs endured and dreading the future as citizens of a common Union, determined to meet in convention and disannul the compact which made us one people. Conventions of the various states were held and with singular unanimity solemnly dissevered the ties which our Fathers in a spirit of conciliation and pride had wrought. Time will never obliterate the joy and pride on my heart when the ringing of the Bells, the booming Artillery, and public illumination told us that "Georgia" had cast her fortunes with her sister southern states. I felt then in the pride of the hour and I feel now in the shadow of defeat and humiliation, that right and justice" were ours, and I as cheerfully and decidedly made the decision to stand by my people gun in hand as I gave my voice and vote for "Secession."

Time rolled on. Events of greater or less importance followed its steady march. "Mr. Lincoln" took his seat as President of all the states eschewing our right as separate sovereignties to dis-annul the act of Union. And just here announcing a principle of his party "That the General Government alone is

sovereign," ignoring every principle of the founders of the government totally subverting the true intent and simple meaning of the Constitution, and erecting thereon a centralized Despotism which at no distant day will again drench this unhappy land in the blood of its children. Already even now while I write the times are ominous of evil, tis not in the nature of things nor is it so decreed by a gracious God that wickedness shall go unpunished. Sooner or later the measure meted out to our unfortunate people shall be meted to them in return. Inflated by "Victories" which hirelings from Europe have won for them over a section of their own people, arrogant and vain over such success, mean and vindictive in their hour of triumph, the Radicals of the North, gloating over our miseries, laughing and mocking our many calamities, but little dream that our cup of sorrow may be theirs to drain,

"The mills of the Gods grind
slowly,
but they wot not how surely"

The south had now wheeled into line and presented to the people and the Government of the North the fact that Eleven States had formally withdrawn from the Union and were taking initiatory steps for the formation of a separate and distinct Government. To this end delegates from the several states assembled in "Montgomery, Ala.," and formed a Provisional Government, Electing by virtue of the authority from the state conventions, "Jefferson Davis" of "Mississippi" Provisional President. One of the first acts of the "Confederate States" was to send Commissioners to Washington bearing the "Olive Branch." They were denied a hearing as delegates from a sovereign Power, and every effort on their part to conciliate the Washington authorities signally failed, returning to Montgomery in despair of an amicable settlement, the country immediately and with stern alacrity began to prepare for "War."

Soon the opening Gun at Charleston notified the people that we had nothing to hope for but in stout hearts and strong arms. A few days and the Fife and Drum bid us don our regimentals, bid adieu to home and the cherished memories clustering around our hearth stones; not sadly and with downcast looks, but with hearts elated and proud step we marched to Dixie Music. Various companies had been organized in and around Columbus, Georgia and had already heard the sound of the enemies guns.

Virginia was to be the field of Battle and hither hastened the proud spirits of our loved Land, the Mother surrendered without a tear the sole prop of her declining years & Maidens gave up to their country the Lads they loved. One might by a slight stretch of imagination have supposed the boys invited to a huge party from the gaiety and self-complacency of the recruits; in common with others, I shared this feeling. I knew "war" and its sad consequences only from Books. and now since I have seen and felt for myself I can safely say that no Book has ever yet described battle or battlefield as it is or the trials and painful life of a soldier. Tis better perhaps that those who have no experimental knowledge should never see things as they really are in camp, on the march, or fields. If we could form any just conception of its entire ugliness, I ween many a good soldier would stay at home or disgrace himself by running away.

I was at this period engaged in farming and had my business affairs so arranged that I could not leave with the first "Volunteers Companies" for the seat of the "War", but went to work to arrange my affairs so as to be able to do so when I might so elect. This occurred in the spring of 1862.

The Battle of "Bulls Run" had been fought and won by the south, hope once more saw peace shining over the blood and carnage of this first field of Victory. In this we were disappointed, and the "North," recovering from the blow, now took active measures to retrieve the disgrace by enlarging her armies and in every way immensely increased her strength. Looking to this event I had laboured to be ready to answer when my services were needed in the field. That period now arrived and with cheerful hand I enrolled my name under Wm. H. H. Phelps who was raising a "Volunteer Company" for the "War."² The Theatre of active operations at this juncture seemed to be the West, and thither we were ordered to repair.

At this time we were holding the various "Gaps" of the Cumberland Mountains and the Enemy held positions some dozen miles or so in our front. The batallion to which our company was to be

²William H. H. Phelps of Columbus (b. 10 Feb 1839, d. 18 May 1924), formed a group named the "Lulu Guards" for his wife, Lucy "Lulu" Briggs. He was elected captain of Co. H. 3rd Infantry Battalion on 22 April 1862. Richard Gray joined the company on 21 March 1862 as 1st (or Orderly) Sergeant; his brothers James T. Gray and Francis Marion Gray also served in this company. See *Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia*, vol. IV, pp. 12, 106-108, 110; and Joseph H. Crute, Jr., *Units of the Confederate States Army* (Midlothian, VA: Derwent Books, 1987), pp.92,106.

attached was the 3d Georgia In[fantry], Lieut Col. M. A. Stovall³ commanding, who with some two or three Regts [Regiments] held this Gateway to the rich graneries of East Tennessee. On the 9th day of April 1862 bidding a sad adieu to home, your mother, and many friends, we fell into line and marched away to face the future, arriving by Railway within Forty Miles of our Post. We drew four days rations, packed our "Knap Sacks" and eagerly took the road to "Cumberland Gap."

For many weary hours we toiled on so entertained by the newness of our position and surrounding objects that we forgot fatigue in the pleasant excitement the occasion gave. Arrived at "Beans Station" we struck camp for the night, and not until awoke by "Revilee" did we realize how tired we felt. Blistered feet and sore shoulders call forth many a remark of sympathy from the comrades more lucky, or rather who had more wisely selected large shoes and had dispensed with many little luxuries which but add to the weight of "Knapsack." Cheerily as the morning sun we arose and moved forward, climbed "Clinch Mountains" and feasted our Eyes with a magnificent view of the Country through which we had marched the day before. Spread out at our feet lay mountain Hills and dales, cool springs and mountain brooks, covered with magnificent forrest trees and peeping through the distant tree tops in the sweet valleys below the homes of a happy and contented people gave life and cheerfulness to the scene. Charmed by the perfection of nature all around me I sat for an hour on the mountain top, and forgot every weary feeling in admireing the beautiful panorama at my feet.

Turning our faces once more to the North, the Blue Ridge of the "Cumberland" met our view. Thirty miles distant a small stretch of fancy and one would have supposed the distant specks of white on its blue sides was the tents of our destined comrades. In a many a weary mile and hard fought field, down Clinchs rough sides, over lovely valleys through rich and varied country we traveled until the shades of approaching night warned us to seek some appropriate place to pitch our tents, wood and water being the chief requisites. We found no scarcity of either, east Tenn. abounding in both. During the

³Marcellus Augustus Stovall was born in Sparta, GA, 18 Sept. 1818, d. 3 Aug 1895 Augusta, GA. He was promoted to Brigadier rank in the Army of Tennessee. See Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray* (Baton Rouge: L.S.U. Press, 1959), pp. 294-295.

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succeeding day we reached our destination and, our location for a camp selected. All hands went to work vigorously to pitch tents and arrange for an indefinite stay. During the following week and month nothing disturbed our usual quiet. We were kept on the drill ground one half the day the remainder we spent in Cleanseing Camp, and writing to our friends at home. We also had ample time to walk around and view the defenses which had been erected previous to our arrival. I supposed, in my ignorance of such things, the place impregnable. Three years experience taught me that the wit and strength of man is not equal to his courage when properly aroused and managed. Although a natural barrier in itself, "Cumberland Gap" could have been stormed and carried if the Yankee Genl. in our front had had the genius for great things. So past away the time.

After awhile it came our turn for Picket-duty. Although exempt by the regulations of the service from guard and Picket duty being "Orderly Sgt.", I voluntarily went with my company on all such service. Our Picket line was Established about one mile in our front, occupying a range of lesser mountains which followed the curves of his elder and bigger brother. Our front being neutral ground where hostile armies were likely to meet at any time was deserted by its former inhabitants and turned over to bears and wolves of which there were large numbers roaming around in perfect security although frequently seen yet no one dared to fire upon them for fear of bringing down upon himself a similar danger. So bruin and Mr. Wolf, Wild Cats and all other varmints had undisputed possession unless, as did occur on several occasions, he approached near enough at night for some watchful sentinel to wake up the Echoes of the solemn old mountain as well as old "Bruin." Our boys being entirely raw, obeyed orders implicitly and occasionally we had the garrison under arms at midnight alarmed by the constant Picket firing along the line. Finally Genl. Stevenson⁴ ordered all firing to cease unless the enemy became visible. This order gave rise to an amusing occurence during the day time, and which evidenced the determination of the men should the occasion offer.

⁴Carter Littlepage Stevenson (b. 21 Sept 1817, VA, d 15 Aug 1888), graduated West Point in 1838 and saw service in the Mexican War. After the Kentucky campaign he was promoted Major General and served with the Army of Tennessee. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, pp. 292-293; John L. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), pp. 400-401.

My place was usually with the reserve, midway the lines. At Capt. Phelps order, I had myself posted the men and upon our extreme right about a mile from my position had posted a man by the name of "Stubbs" with two or three other with orders to fire upon any one approaching from the front. It happened that just there the line made an Elbow, of which I was not aware, and was occupied by a Tennessee Company. I had gone around and returned and was hardly arrived before two or three shots in rapid succession was heard upon our right, another and another and then a volley came echoing down the mountain. All was animation instantly. We took it for granted it must be the Enemy approaching "Captain Phelps ordered the Reserves formed immediately and then instructed me to go and get information, the firing still continued. I hastened along the line Eager to see a "Blue Coat" and quite nervous withal. Arriving within a few hundred yards of the firing, I met "Frank" a negro boy belonging to my Mess, terribly frightened, all he could say was "Stubbs is fightin" and went towards camp at a double quick." As soon as Stubbs perceived me, he halloed at the top of his lungs, "All right "Orderly," send me twenty men and I'll hold the post agin the world." Upon investigating the matter I found that "Stubbs" and the Tennessee boys wanted a little fun on their own account and had been driving away at one anothers trees, the garrison got under arms. Genl. Stevenson came to the front, armed Cap a Pie and returned to his quarters satisfied at the incorrigibility of "old Rebs." Shortly after this Stubbs died and about the same time another comrade and a true man, Henry Chapman, closed his career.⁵ We wrapped them in a soldier's shroud, a blanket, and buried them at the foot of this mighty mountain, a God-erected monument to the gallant spirits who sleep so well under the shadows of its towering granite.

After we had been in camp about six weeks, our Batt[alion] received orders to cook three days rations, draw forty rounds ammunition, and to be ready to march at a moments notice. All went to guessing as to our destination by the by about the poorest thing a soldier ever did.⁶

⁵ According to *The Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia*, Henry Chapman, 4th Sergeant in Co H, died at Cumberland Gap, TN 13 May 1862; Thomas B. Stubbs, private, died at Bean's Station, TN on 11 June 1863 (see vol.4, pp. 107, 113.)

⁶Brief overviews of the Kentucky Campaign and the Army of Tennessee can be found in *The Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, Patricia L. Faust, ed (New York: Harper & Row, 1986),

We were soon ready and about noon fell into line and proceeded by a circuitous route to advance towards the Enemy. After marching three or four miles we were halted and allowed to rest; while engaged in this pleasant privilege, a Tennessee Reg[iment] in our rear was ordered, without our knowledge, to discharge their pieces, which they did. The astonishment and panic was so intense that had a half dozen Yankee Cavalry dashed in upon us, they could have captured half the "Batt." You can imagine perhaps how one feels lying prone upon his back in the "enemy's country" when suddenly a discharge from two hundred guns goes thundering through his ears. Ambush was on every tongue, and we stood or dodged about like a parcel of sheep until the cause of the firing became apparent. Time and continual hazard, however, wore off the nervousness until we could lie down and sleep as quietly under heavy cannonadeing as we did in camps, utterly oblivious to the dangers around us.

We now learned that "Cumberland Ford", the fortified camp of the enemy, was our destination; moving on now rapidly but observing the strictest silence we arrived in about two miles of the enemy, still cautiously advanceing, we at last surprised the Picket guard but failed to capture them, camped and discussed the merits of the prospective Battle on the morrow, arose at dawn of day, advanced towards the enemy's works. About two hundred yards countermarched and moved back rapidly to "The Gap" Of course some were disappointed and gave free vent to their opinions, but it is worthy of notice here that my observation was that the noisiest on the retreat were the most nervous as we advanced; arrived safely at "Camps" after getting soaked with rain and daubed with mud from head to foot. Take it altogether this was as disagreeable a ten mile move as I ever made. I afterwards learned that our advance was intended merely to attract the attention of the enemy, whilst Gen. Kirby Smith⁷ made an assault upon another part of the enemy at a place called "Boston" in [Kentucky].

pp. 414-415, 745-746.

⁷Edmund Kirby Smith (b. 16 May 1824, d. 28 Mar 1893). Graduated West Point in 1845 and served in the Mexican War. He entered Confederate service and was wounded at Manassas; promoted to brigadier in 1861. He became Commander of the Department of East Tennessee in March 1862, though subordinate to General Braxton Bragg. He participated with Bragg in the Kentucky Campaign and after his victory at Richmond KY in 1862 was promoted to Lieutenant General. He later fell out with Bragg and was transferred to the Trans-Mississippi. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy*, pp. 388-389.

As if to repay our visit the following week our Pickets were in turn driven in and two or three wounded. As this was my first Engagement, it will probably interest you to know how I did and felt. I shall never forget my feelings when the firing commenced upon our Picket line. I think all the blood in my heart rushed to my extremities. I could have done anything, no exertion seemed labourious, still I kept my head cool, formed company, called roll, examined or assisted to do so the condition of arms, ammunition etc. I felt in a perfect fever to be engaged. Had I been bid go and hide myself behind the huge mountain and forced to do so would have been the severest punishment which could have been inflicted upon me. I wanted to see everything, hear everything, and I felt unhappy and discontented if debarred the privilege. After skirmishing along our front they made an effort to carry the position held by the N[orth] Carolina troops but were repulsed. Almost instantly the balls of the Blue Coats whistled merrily around our Ears, but did no injury, save boring holes through our tents. After lying around two or three days they left and I never saw them again that I know of.

Sometime after this affair orders came to evacuate our stronghold and fall back beyond Clinch Mountain. We at once set about cooking rations, packing up and making ready to fall in at a moments notice. At the call of the bugle we aligned ourselves and bid adieu to our safe retreat. As I stood on its highest summit and cast a long and ardent look on [Kentucky], I little supposed that a few months more would find me marching in triumph through its lovely landscape, eternally carpeted in green, yet so it was. "We only let go to get a better hold," as will presently appear. We fell back to "Beans Station" and enjoyed its health giving water for about two months. We were actively engaged during the time in chasing the enemy whenever he showed himself this side of "Clinch Mountain." About the 1st of August/62 we were again ordered to resume the offensive, and in conformity moved instantly to the North of Clinch, again resumed the march, and came in full view of our old quarters at the Gap, so secretly had our movements been conducted that we again surprised their "pickets" - and could have stormed and carried the position which had been much strengthened by Forts and Bomb-proofs while in their possession. Forming line of Battle around the place our skirmishing parties gave the besieged but little

chance to air themselves.⁸

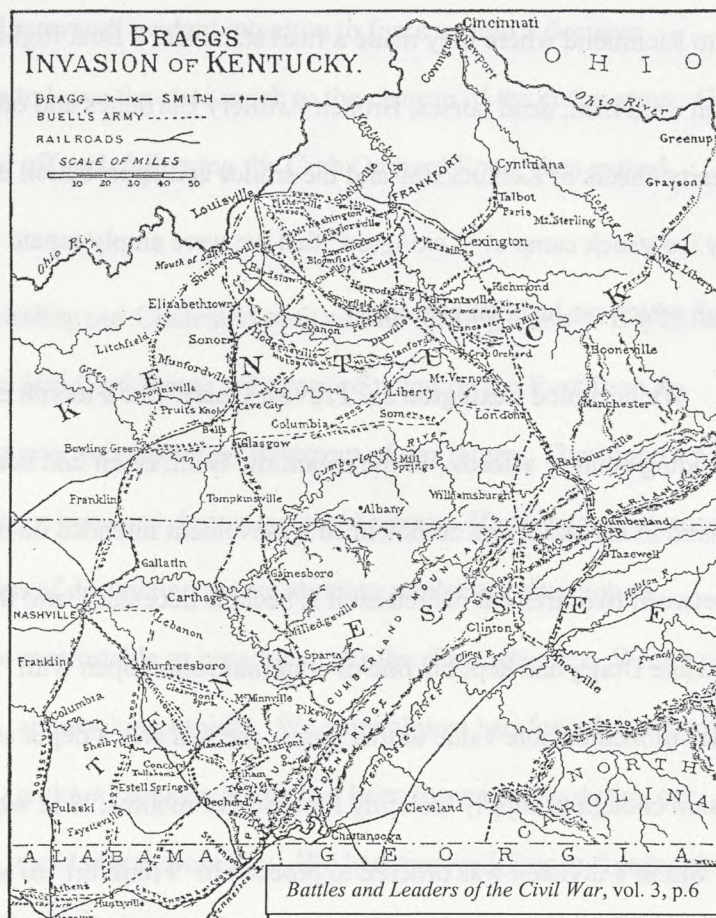
During the time occupied in this way Genl. Bragg⁹ was preparing at Chattanooga to move into [Kentucky]; the veterans from Corinth had been transported thither and all things being ready Genl. Smith was ordered to cross the border at "Big Creek Gap", another pass of the Cumberland, with his division and Genl. Reynolds was ordered to join him by another route with his Brigade. It so happened that Reynolds Brigade was deficient in numbers and upon solicitation from Col. Stovall our Batt[alion] about 600 strong was added to it and we were ordered to march immediately. Doing so, daylight found us struggling over the Mountains, the evening of the third day we tread the soil of [Kentucky], and marched for eight or ten days over the roughest country upon the globe, but full of beauty and interest. Approaching "Big Hill" we became aware that the Enemy had been about. Every few miles we passed wagon trains which our cavalry had captured and destroyed. The supplies were intended for the Yankees who still held "Cumberland Gap." but they never reached their destination. "Confed" soldiers are always an appreciative class, and believing the Yankees judges of good things, they just concluded to save them the bother of eating the many good things which lay so temptingly upon the road side. I never actually suffered from hunger whilst in the Army, but the universal opinion was that Bragg selected Roasting Ear season to make this move, so that he could feed his army. I frequently felt sad that necessity would force us to take the bread from the mouths of widows and orphans, but we could recognize no law higher than self preservation. Therefore cornfields were not infrequently stripped bare when but a few moments before waved a luxuriant harvest. The sad expression of children harrowed my soul, men and women could make arrangement but helpless little ones could do naught but look and sigh. Generally on the route we took, the people were opposed to secession and a large number of the husbands and brothers of those

⁸An excellent account of the Army of Tennessee is Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969).

⁹Braxton Bragg (b. 22 Mar 1817, Warren County, NC, d. Galveston, TX 27 Sept 1876) figures large in Gray's narrative. In the judgment of historian Grady McWhiney, Bragg did as much as any general to lose the war. Under his command the Army of Tennessee "fought four major campaigns and retreated from Kentucky to Georgia." *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

we saw, so long as we were in the Mountains, were in the Yankee army, and had doubtless ravaged and desolated the homes of our people in Mississippi and Louisiana.

I never traveled through a more desolate looking country in my life than lies between Cumberland Mountains and Big "Hill", a distance of about One Hundred Miles. Poverty and Ignorance cover the whole face of the country. As soon as we had passed this Barrier "Big Hill" an immense range of hills fifteen miles across which divides the country, we descended into the loveliest section on the earth. It is known as the Blue Grass Region. Extending from the Hill to the Ohio and Mississippi River on the North and West, rich in soil, and



densely populated by the wealthy and refined twas like exchanging "Sahara" for "Goshen."

All along our line of march, we had every desirable evidence of hearty sympathy, unless it was the failure of her manly looking men to volunteer.¹⁰ In a country so abounding in food and raiment we soon recruited our exhausted strength and replaced our tattered garments for others, voluntary contributions generally from the females, who exerted themselves on all occasions to relieve our wants. Our Brigade although marching rapidly failed to reach Richmond, Kentucky¹¹ in time to take a part in

¹⁰See Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, and McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg* for all that follows. Smith had command of about 10,000 men while Bragg directed about 30,000.

¹¹A brief sketch of the Battle of Richmond, Kentucky, in *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, pp. 629-630. The Union losses amounted to 206 killed and over four thousand missing or captured. The Confederate side lost 78 dead and a small number missing.

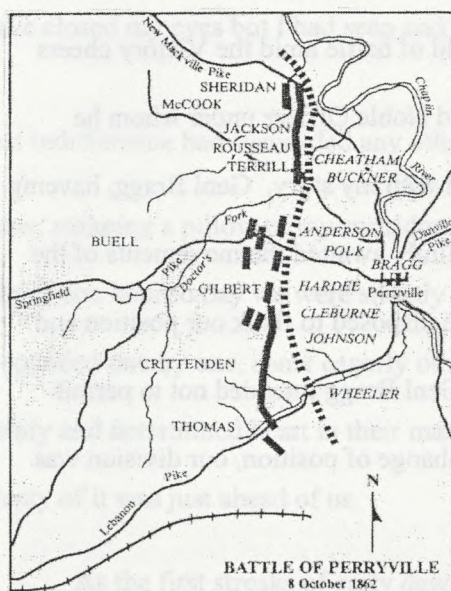
"E.Kirby-Smiths" great victory over the Enemy resulting in the capture of 6 or 8 thousand prisoners immense supplies of provisions arms and artillery. The Fields of Battle extended from the foot of "Big Hill" to Richmond where they made a final stand and a final flight to "Louisville". We moved along through dead men, dead horses, Broken Artillery Carriages and other remnants of a field of blood amid the hearty cheers of Kentuckians and the smiles and approbation of its lovely women and felt when finally we struck camp at "Lexington" that we were amply repaid for all our sufferings in the Wilderness through which we had just passed.

We occupied Lexington as "Provost Guard" for a month enjoying every luxury which the surrounding country affords. In the meantime Genl. Buell had been superceded and "Rosencrans" took command in his stead, and commenced a movement intended doubtless to flank Gen Bragg and placing him between two fires cut off retreat if it became necessary, and thus destroy the army of Tennessee . Meanwhile Bragg had kept his line of communication open with "Knoxville Tenn", and had forwarded supplies of incalculable value to that point. - he had also a depot at Camp "Dick Robinson" containing provision enough to supply his army for a twelve months, ½ of which we burned when forced to fall back. Smith's division was ordered to proceed to "Frankfort" to act as an army of observation and to check the advance of Genl. Thomas who was rapidly moveing to Buells aid. At Perryville, by our movements, we thwarted this design and thus it occurred that we missed the dangers of that bloody field.¹² We skirmished with the enemy until Buell satisfied with his defeat at Perryville withdrew and "Rosecrans" arrived and took command. The hardy sons of Kentucky failing to come to the rescue, almost surrounded by an army of a hundred thousand strong, Genl Bragg reluctantly determined to fall upon "Tennessee." We (Genl Smith Corps) received the news of this intention whilst in Line of Battle at Harrodsburgs, and momentarily looking for the enemy (with whom we had skirmished for a week), to attack us. The Corps immediately moved however, and marching rapidly reached "Camp Dick

¹²The Battle of Perryville, Kentucky, 8 Oct 1862, was a bloody but indecisive match between Union General Don Carlos Buell and Confederate General Braxton Bragg. See *ibid.*, pp. 576-577. Buell was relieved of his command and succeeded by William Starke Rosecrans. For biographical sketches of these two, see John T. Hubbell and James W. Geary, *Biographical Dictionary of the Union* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1995), 68-69, 444-445

Robinson" sometime during the succeeding day. We found upon arrival our entire army encamped along the Banks of the Kentucky River, the only River of any importance in the state, not navigable for steamboats. Genl Bragg having foiled "Rosecrans" evident intention to force us into a decisive engagement, now made final arrangements to leave the state much to the chagrin of the entire army. Genl Bragg with the main body of the army filed off and, following the Crab Orchard Road, thus gained Tennessee.

Gen. Smith with the remainder including our Command took a route leading again to Big Hill and thence to "Cumberland Gap" with orders to join Genl Bragg at Lenoir's Station on the East Tenn & Virginia Railroad. It is hardly necessary to give you a detailed statement of our return. The country was much the same and nothing of especial interest occurred during our rapid retreat. Having again recrossed Cumberland Mountain and reached the point of destination we set about to render our situation as



Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War, p. 576. Used by permission.

comfortable as possible under the circumstances. Winter was approaching rapidly. We were almost barefooted and many without blankets which had been thrown away during our rapid march from Kty. We had marched four or five hundred miles from the 1st of August to the 1st of October through Tenn. and Kty. fighting the enemy almost over the entire state of Kty; and needed rest, which however our vigilant foes were determined we should not have. Disappointed in every effort

to bring on a decisive engagement in "Kty" "Rosencrans" followed us into Tenn, and drew up his army a few miles north of the town of "Murfreeshboro". We remained about two weeks at Lenoirs Station however and were again ordered to move to Manchester and from thence to "Reedyville" where the enemy being quiet, we hoped to pass the Winter. Twas now extremely cold with an occasional sun shiny day. We fared pritty well, on tolerable rations and toasting our shins around big log fires, Cracked a many a tolerable joke;

upon the whole were about as dirty and jolly a set of Rebels as ever drank confusion to "Yankees."

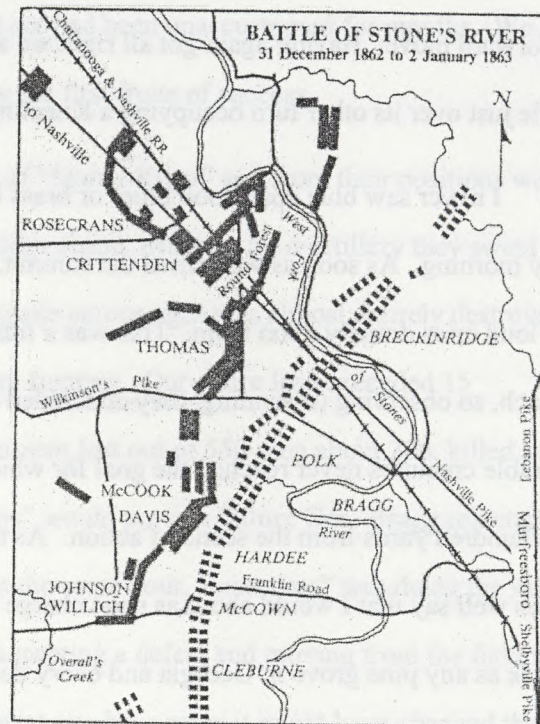
While lying here we little thought that a few days and night of harmless amusement was allotted to many hundred of our brave comrades but so it proved: Christmas had come and passed. We supposed active operations sealed by the state of the roads, but how much mistaken we were. The Battle of Murfreesboro [Stone's River] must answer; at midnight on the 27th of Decb. we were aroused from happy dreams of Wives, mothers, and children at our far off homes by the lively rattle of the drum beating the "long roll." Out we turned and in 30 minutes were moving to a subsequent field of blood and carnage at "Murfreesboro."¹³ As this was my first general engagement, I shall enter more into details. After arriving at Murfreesboro" from our recent camp at Reedyville, we were assigned a position near the center of our line in Genl. McGowans¹⁴ Division who was subsequently dismissed the service for disobedience of orders. Our Brigade Commander had also been changed and Brig Genl Raines¹⁵ from Nashville commanded. He fell mortally wounded however and died on the field of battle amid the Victory cheers of his Brigade who loved him as only a soldier can love the brave and Noble Officer under whom he proudly serves. I shall allude to him again however and will proceed with my story. Genl Bragg, having made his dispositions for the Expected Engagement with his army calmly awaited the movements of the Enemy. Towards noon it became evident that "Rosecrans" was more disposed to flank our position and force us back more by strategy than by hard knocks. This however Genl Bragg intended not to permit him to do, and he consequently met the movement promptly, in the change of position, our division was moved from the center to the exteme left.

¹³The Battle of Stone's River (Murfreesboro), Tennessee, 31 Dec 1862 - 2 Jan. 1863. This terrible and stalemated fight is the subject of Peter Cozzens' book, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stone's River* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). See also the web page www.nps.gov/stri.

¹⁴John Porter McCown was born at Sevierville, TN, 19 Aug 1815 and graduated West Point in 1840; served in the Mexican War. As a major general in 1862 he commanded a division of Bragg's Army at the Battle of Murfreesboro. Bragg brought charges of incompetence against McCown and he thereafter faded into obscurity. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, pp 197-200.

¹⁵James Edward Raines, born 10 Apr 1833, Nashville and a graduate of Yale Law School.. For his actions in the Kentucky Campaign he was promoted to brigadier in November 1862 and assigned to John P. McCown's Division of Hardee's Corps. During the Battle of Murfreesboro he was killed leading a charge on Dec. 31, 1862. His last words were: "Forward, my brave boys, forward!" Warner, *Generals in Gray*, pp. 250-251.

We were now in Gen Hardee's Corps, an Experienced soldier who came to us with the laurels of "Corinth" fresh upon his brow, and in the subsequent three days fighting not a leaf or sprig withered, but were fresher and greener for the opportunity. We reached our position about nightfall and establishing our lines set about preparing supper. As our fires became visible to the enemy they amused themselves by knocking the embers about our feet with an occasional shell. Not deterred by this however we kept the pot boiling, drank our "Kty. Coffee" and graually one by one rolled up in our blankets to sleep. Six month before this not a wink of blessed slumber would have closed my eyes but I had seen and felt so much



Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War, p. 722. Used by permission.

that indifference had succeeded any other feeling and now, makeing a pillow of my cartridge box, I slept as sweetly as though danger was a childs story. About one hour to day we were silently awakened, formed line and I called the "Roll." As the men responded one by one, some eagerly others with tremolous tone of voice [as] I read or thought I did the manly and determined heart in their manner of answering. We were soon made aware that work and a plenty of it was just ahead of us.

As the first streaks of early dawn marked the East, the Order came ringing down the line to forward. Advancing rapidly we had not gone two hundred yards ere the whistlers from their pickets saluted our ears, and now approaching their line of battle, we were put forward at Double Quick, received their fire still forward. We had hardly fired a gun, and they broke leaving guns of every character for us to discharge at them as they fled in wild dismay. As our movement was simultaneous along the entire line, we had "Rosencrans" Terrible Army" flying before our advance in 20 minutes after the discharge of

the first piece. Having broke and dispersed this line it became necessary to reform and move forward more circumspectly as we did not doubt but that "Rosencrans" had his Reserves" posted so as to check our forward move. Having again got all right we advanced and, reaching the summit of a gradual slope, visible just over its other turn occupying a Kneeling position was a formidable battle array.

I never saw blue coats look bluer or brass buckles and buttons shine brighter than they did on that frosty morning. As soon as we gained the summit, we poured a volley into the blue and charged wildly with loud cries directly upon them. This was a little more than our blue friends could stand on empty stomach, so observing us running, they concluded to make a a foot race of it, but hundreds of the miserable creatures never reached the goal for which they so manfully struggled, a Cedar Brake two or three hundred yards from the scene of action. As this brake prevented our further advance on that day, I may as well say that I would about as soon charge a Reg[iment] of porcupines as that. The timber stood as thick as any pine grove in Georgia and every decayed limb and branch upon them were sharp from constant friction of wind and rains so that when the retreating enemy got behind its friendly fins they were about as secure as a Modern Belle with hoop & stays. Our boys essayed in vain to penetrate this retreat but could not and were forced to take position a few hundred yards back and wait developments. This spot proved fatal to our gallant leader Genl James E. Raines. With words of cheer on his lips and shouts of triumph ringing in his ears he fell pierced to the heart by a ball from this covert, baptizing the soil of his native state in as brave blood as ever warmed the heart of gallant man.

In addition to this loss while attempting to dislodge the enemy from this secure position, the rank and file had suffered severely. Content with the days work, and night throwing its mantle over this scene of death, we were left in quietude and reflection, but in that solemn hour how few of us gave up the mind to thoughts. All was animation and discussion Each man had a tale to unfold of more or less wonderful feats thrilling adventure and personal Escapes. We slept but little. Our wounded comrades and dear friends needed attention and sympathy, while night was rendered hideous and sleep impossible by the dead and dying friends and foes lying around us indiscriminately. A day of danger and death had passed,

and I had escaped the slightest injury. Thanking God, I took courage and with my comrades drank the Coffee made from the depths of some dead yankees "Haversack" picked up on the field. Indeed twas a supply of "Hard Tack" and other "Knick Nacks" to which we had been unaccustomed for months. We had paid for the luxury in life and limb, and were enjoying the first fruits of success.

During the night the enemy had fallen back north of "Stones River" and from their positions we essayed in vain during the day and succeeding day to dislodge them. Massing their artillery they swept the surrounding hills and vallies of the timber. A Kty. Brigade on our right was almost entirely destroyed in the vain effort to turn their position during the three days fighting. Our entire loss exceeded 15 thousand and the enemies was much greater. My own regiment lost out of 550 men about 200, killed and wounded.¹⁶ Satisfied that further effort to drive "Rosecrans" would prove a failure Gen. Bragg reluctantly gave the order to fall back and as strange as it may seem at the same hour, Rosecrans" was doing the same thing, presenting the anomalous spectacle of both armies accepting a defeat and moving from the field in opposite directions. Had Genl. Bragg deferred our movement one hour more it might have changed the entire Military Status of the Confederate States. As it was, our friends at home could but claim a doubtful victory although we drove them 6 miles the first day with immense loss to them.

Sadly and slowly we abandoned a field when so much had been done in defence of our cherished rights and where sleep the last sleep so many gallant spirits and took the road leading south to Shelbyville, Tenn. Worn down by excessive fatigue and the destruction of our high hopes, we set about building Winter Quarters. Our cabins soon aligned themselves under the beautiful timber surrounding us and, forgetting our sorrows and disappointment under their friendly roofs, we once more grew stout and joyous, and jibe and jest went as merry around and as frequent as before.

The camps selected for us near Shelbyville lay along the South side of Duck River. The soil being very rich was exceedingly unpleasant during the rainy season which had fairly set in. Very little

¹⁶Gray's estimate is off according to historians' reckoning; Rosecrans' total loses were over 13,000, while Bragg's were over 10,000.

tramping was the consequence. Our guard and Police duties being light we spent the most of the day in cutting and getting to Camps fire wood, as the weather was bitterly cold. We pittied the Cavalry, Who now had our front to guard and suffered severly from the inclemency of the weather. During our long and fatigueing marches we occasionally felt just a little envious as the Cavalry would pass our command, but now when the keen cutting winds came whistling down from the mountains, we blessed our stars that we belonged to the Web Foot Institution as the Infantry was jocosely called.

Thus passed away the months of Jany. Feby. & March. During the latter part of this month, our Winter Quarters proving unhealthy, we moved above Shelbyville, our health being much improved by the change. Spring buds beginning to swell, man's beligerant disposition again showed itself in several small engagements between our Cavalry, who occupied advanced positions, and the Enemy. Not unfrequently large forageing parties of all arms of the service would trench upon our territory, and finally as the season advanced, their parties began to be too numerous for comfort. Genl. Bragg in consequence again took the field for active operation haveing recruited his army very considerble during our stay at Shelbyville. I neglected to mention that we fought the battle of Murfreesboro[Stone's River] with about 25,000 troops. The odds against us was heavy, but we trusted not so much in numbers, as we did in the justice of our cause.

We found that the main body of the Enemy still remained in and around Murfreesboro which place they had strongly fortified. Our cavalry had occupied an outpost a range of small mountains running parallel between Murfreesboro and Shelbyville. Various Gaps or Passes, natural openings in this range, gave freer access to the Country above and below. Moveing up to within a few miles of our outpost, we anticipated at no distant day to be allowed to measure arms again with our adversaries, nor were we kept long in suspense. St. Johns day in April I think set the Enemy in motion. So secure did we feel in our position that on that day a Masonic Celebration at a Railroad Station called "Bell Buckle" had called off a large number of Officers and men. Those who remained in Camps but little dreamed that ere the day was wrapped in the Mantle of night, the echo of artillery and steady tramp of Armed Men would

take the place of their revelry.

BATTLE OF "HOOVER'S GAP"¹⁷

About, noon a thunderstorm came up and copious showers of rain drove us from the lovely meadow upon which we were lolling, some reading others playing cards, to our tents for shelter. Amid the pattering of the rain, the clatter of a Horse coming up from the front at great speed attracted attention and in five minutes more the bugle from headquarters bid us get under arms. In a few moments we were all right and on the move in double quick for the front about two miles from our quarters. Approaching the foot of the Mountains our skirmishers were immediately engaged with the Enemy who we found had been ½ hour too soon for us and had possession of the "Gap." Heavy firing on right and left admonished us that they either had secured the remaining passes or were contesting for it. After skirmishing long enough to ascertain their position, We were ordered to carry their lines. To get at them was about as serious a matter as to drive them when we got to them. A creek lay upon our left, and being a mountain torrent was swollen and running with great force between us and Enemy. After infinite trouble we crossed this stream, and found the opposite hill quite steep and excessively slippery. Holding on by our teeth we climbed this obstacle in the face of the enemy, and formed line immediately, and moved as rapidly as possible upon them. An old field was just below us and having entered, we became aware that the Enemy were somewhere close about from the flash of their pieces when discharged but not a human being could we see. Our boys were falling rapidly under this galling fire, but stood ground manfully for sometime until our Commanding Officer saw that we were only being sacrificed and doing no injury to the Enemy. Our loss in 20 minutes was 89 men killed and wounded. Ordered to withdraw we did so in no very good humour, but carrying our wounded off with us.

One poor fellow of my company, by name Edwards¹⁸, had his leg broken by a mini ball in the early

¹⁷The engagements around the "Gaps" (Bell Buckle, Liberty, and Hoover) were part of the Union's Tullahoma Campaign in June and July, 1863. Bragg's headquarters were at Tullahoma but his main position was a line between Shelbyville and Watrace (toward Manchester). A useful web page is: www.americancivilwar.com/statepic/tn.html. Bragg was repeatedly outflanked and forced to withdraw over eighty miles behind the Tennessee River. See, Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, and Peter Cozzens, *The Civil War in the West: Stone's River to Chattanooga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

part of the engagement and had dragged himself off a few steps from the line. In retreating he was left behind. Remembering his wound, for he fell just by my side, I determined to go back and get him. Knowing that I would be a mark for a thousand rifles, I took the precaution to crawl through the grass to where he lay. Arriving safely by his side, I told him what I had come for and opened my plan to him which was to take him by his sound leg and drag him down the rough hill as fast as I could run. He readily agreed and, seizing him, I bent almost double and pulled for life down the hill. I don't know how many Yankee bullets were sent hissing after me. It made me think of a hornets nest when all let loose. I arrived safely with my Comrade however, and we lived to laugh over the bumping I gave him.

Finding now that the Enemy were too well protected to be dislodged, we fell back and occupied a position about a mile rearwards. During the next day they came, but met with such a warm reception, that their anxiety cooled down considerable. In the meantime Gen. Bragg had determined not to give battle but surrender Tennessee to the Enemy without the struggle then imminent. In pursuance the main body of the Army took the road to Chattanooga leaving our Corps, Hardee's¹⁹, to bring up the rear. Holding the Enemy in check notwithstanding his repeated assault upon our line, until the sick and wounded had reached a place of safety, we slowly commenced our retreat burning bridges and destroying everything on our line of march which would assist the enemy in pursuit. This was an extremely exciting movement. Detachments of our foes were frequently in advance of us and as we would climb a mountain the left wing of our pursuers were visible at another pass, making for Chattanooga. An occasional fight and we would clear the road to renew it again perhaps in half an hour; it took us about 15 days to move from middle Tenn to Chattanooga. Arriving at Tennessee River, we crossed and by easy marches reached the

¹⁸ William B. Edwards enlisted one day after Gray on 22 Mar 1862 in the same company. He was wounded at Murfreesboro (Stone's River) on 31 Dec. 1862, and wounded again, as Gray recounts, at Hoover's Gap, on 1 July 1863. He remained with the Army of Tennessee until its surrender at Greensboro, NC in Apr. 1865. He was 23 years old at the time of the 1860 Muscogee County Census (M593, R167), where he appears on p. 340 as head of a household including Caroline (age 20) and a six-month old child Jasper [?] N. (*Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia*, vol. IV, p. 109).

¹⁹ William Joseph Hardee was born in Camden County, GA, 12 Oct 1815 and graduated West Point in 1838. He served in the Mexican War. He served under Bragg in the Kentucky campaign and participated in the Battle of Murfreesboro, subsequently promoted to Corps Commander and performed well in the Battle of Missionary Ridge in 1863. He declined the command of the Army of Tennessee after the Chattanooga campaign. He died 6 Nov 1873 and was buried in Selma, AL. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 216; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 124-125.

main body at Chattanooga. The enemy, content with the peaceable possession of all the Country on the west side that river made no demonstration for a crossing although we patrolled it for weeks. Being correctly informed of Rosecrans movements, which was now to occupy East Tennessee as well as Middle and West, our Corps was transported by rail to Tyners Station on that Road, and struck camp until the Enemy should fully develop his plans for the campaign.

We still held East Tenn. and drew from its rich soil almost all of our supplies but twas a long line with no natural barriers to aid us in defending it, and the enemy having so much advantage of us in numbers threatened our supplies collected at various depot along the line of the East Tennessee & Virginia R[ail] Road. This road was also another means of Communication between the extreme South and our forces in Virginia and a struggle was necessary to hold and keep it open. To do so it became important that the army should be stationed all along the line from Bristol in Virginia to Chattanooga in Tennessee. We were constantly therefore on the move up and down the road, but the Enemy made no serious demonstration until midsummer, when assembling a large force, they began operation on a scale large enough to warrant the opinion that the struggle for East Tennessee had begun. At the same moment they threatened Chattanooga and Dalton in Georgia. So active and numerous had they become that we despaired of holding all these points. We moved up to Cleveland, London, and spent sometime in the effort to find the Enemy but they eluded our vigilance. Genl. Bragg had no alternative left but to concentrate his forces and give the main body of the enemy battle in Georgia.

After destroying the Rail Road Bridges along the line we gradually moved back upon Georgia. Our Army had also evacuated Chattanooga and now lay in a Mountainous region about 10 miles south of that place. Rosecrans was indisposed to give battle and attempted a flank movement threatening our communications rearward. This led to the affairs of McLemons Cove, just south of "Lookout Mountain." Our division had been transfered to Gen. Buckners and he was ordered by forced marches to thwart this movement upon our left and rear and if possible pay the Yank back in his own coin. Amid the burning heat and clouds of dust we moved rapidly upon our mission and on the morning of the second

day startled the Enemy by our sudden appearance. So rapidly had we moved and secretly that they knew nothing of our presence until our skirmisher poured a rapid fire into their Camps. We had hoped to be able to trap the entire party and had Genl Braggs orders been obeyed we should have bagged Gen Thomas of the Yankee Army and his Corps with an immense army train. One of the passes had been left unguarded and through this the frightened Blue Coats made rapid strides. Haveing chased them from the valley, we retraced our steps and encamped at the village of LaFayette in Paulding C[oun]ty, Georgia. We were allowed three or four days of breathing time. The entire Army had bivouaced at this place and from thence we were to march to the Battle of "Chickamauga," an Indian word signifying River of Death.

About the 4th day we were ordered to prepare three days rations and be ready for the field. Genl Bragg caused to be published to the entire army his Battle Order. This was gratifying to almost every soldier. We had marched, retreated, advanced, and suffered so much inconvenience from these vile miscreants under "Rosecrans" that we felt glad that at last we would have an opportunity of settling old scores. Cheerfully then we went to work arrangeing for the event, and orders to move.

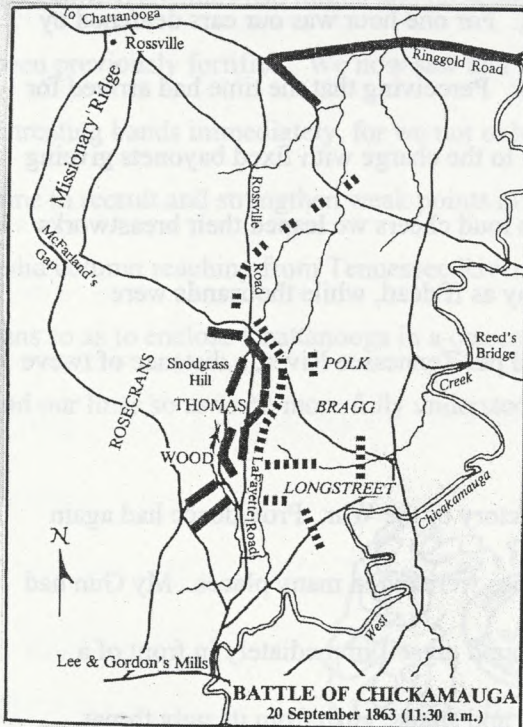
BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA²⁰

We were not kept long in suspense. The movements of the enemy indicted a willingness to accept on this field the [arbitrament] of arms and Genl Bragg being now fully ready we at once took the field and advanced along the main highway from LaFayette to Chattanooga. Midway between these towns we found the enemy strongly posted with Chickamauga River running between us and them. We advanced and drove their skirmishers immediately upon them, and Walker's division not only drove a division of the enemy but succeeded in obtaining possession of an important ford and bridge with but slight loss. Cheatham had also with equal celerity and courage secured a crossing below so that we could cross the entire army next morning. So far our division had done but little more than keep up a running fire with

²⁰Besides Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, see Peter Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), and The U.S. Army War College Guides to Civil War Battles, *Guide to the Battle of Chickamauga* (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

their pickets. Night coming on we halted for the time and went to work preparing for heavy fighting on the next day, nor were we disappointed

As early as sunrise Walker on our Extreme right advanced and the battle commenced. From right to left nothing could be heard but the incessant roar of muskets and artillery. Our division had until now been held in reserve, but now came orders to move to the centre, which being hard pressed by



Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War, p. 137. Used by permission.

Gen. Thomas Corps' needed help and a heap of it.

Advancing at a double quick we found ourselves in the hottest part of the field. The Enemy were rakeing our advancing column, and our unhappy comrades went down under this murderous fire by dozens, but the line never wavered. Steadily and surely they went to the work of death and carnage, over the bodies of those who but a moment before were as full of life and motion as ourselves. Amid the wreck of life and limb of man and brute, we still advanced until we were near enough upon

their line to see every motion hear an occasional order. Pouring in a full volley we charged and completely overwhelmed them. So

fierce and determined was the onset, and they turned and fled leaving in our possession about thirty pieces of Artillery, thousands of small arms. The right and left wings had not been so successful and we could not pursue our victory that day. We again camped upon a field of blood with hundreds lying dead around us.

Exhausted by the severe labours of the day we eagerly sought rest in our blankets—only to renew the contest on the morrow. During the night the enemy had fallen back and fortified a range of hills about two miles from the field of the day before. Genl. Bragg caused an order of thanks to be read to his army

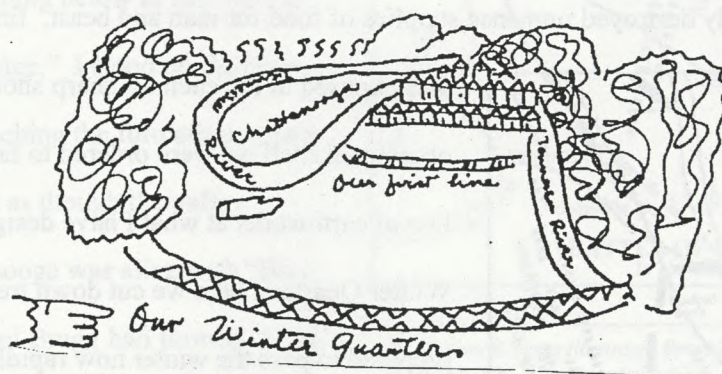
for their gallant bearing on the first day and promised us a complete triumph during the day. With the early dawn we were again in motion and found our game about sunrise advancing immediately to the attack. We fought for hours in the attempt to dislodge them but failed in every effort. Our gallant men threw away their lives by hundreds without meeting the success which the sacrifice warranted. Observing the critical state of affairs Genl. Bragg had every piece of artillery which could be brought to bear placed in position and opened upon their lines, a terrible cannonade. For one hour was our ears deafened by the whirl and explosion of shell and the heavier report of the gun. Perceiving that the time had arrived for one more final effort, at a given signal, the entire line advanced to the charge with fixed bayonets giving them a volley as we advanced upon them at double quick; with loud cheers we leaped their breastworks and the day was ours. Utterly panic stricken some fled, other lay as if dead, while thousands were slaughtered as they ran, nor did the survivors stop until they had put Tennessee River, a distance of twelve miles, between us and them.

So ended what "President Davis" calls the most brilliant Victory of the War. Providence had again shielded me from harm. Not a scratch had I received. My clothes were cut in many places. My Gun had been struck and knocked from my hand and during a charge I found myself immediately in front of a Battery not 20 steps. I saw the man fire it, saw the cloud of fire and smoke gush from its ugly throat. Inwardly commending myself to God, I rushed upon it and escaped with my hair alone singed. Whilst pursuing the enemy in the first day, one of them seeing me in advance of my comrades thought to drive a bullet under my jacket. I did not observe him until in the act of firing upon me, not ten paces, but before he could pull trigger a comrade on my right had observed his intention and put a ball between his shoulders. That fellow would have killed me but for the kindly aid of B. Mac Denson²¹ a member of my company who served his country faithfully from the first day of the "War" sealing his devotion to it by a soldier's death in an engagement of which I shall presently tell you.

²¹ Burrell Mac Denson had already served one year (18 Mar. 1861-8 Mar. 1862 in the 1st Regt. GA Inf.) before he enrolled in Gary's unit, Co. H, 3rd Battalion, GA Inf. on 26 Mar. 1862 and then in Co. K. 37th Regt. GA Inf.. Denson was promoted to Sergeant in 1864, and was killed, as Gray relates, on 28 May 1864 at the battle of New Hope Church, GA. He may have been in the 1860 Muscogee Co. Census (M593, R167), p. 299. (*Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia*, vol. IV, p. 109.)

SIEGE OF CHATTANOOGA²²

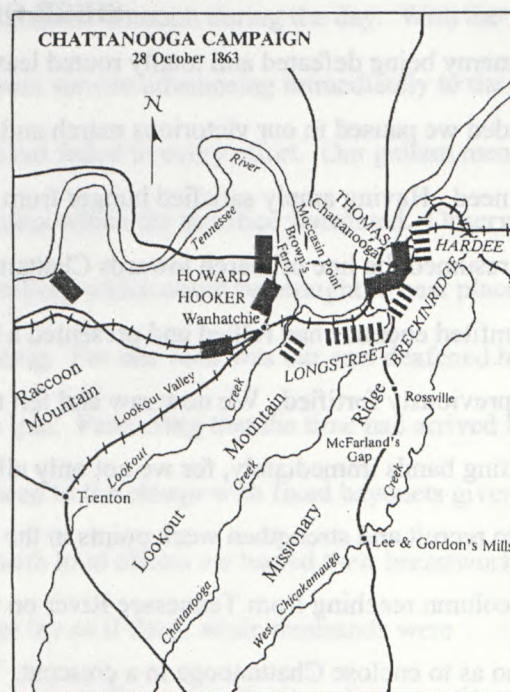
The enemy being defeated and totally routed leaving a field for six miles strewn with the dead and wounded we paused in our victorious march and prepared something to eat of which we now were in great need. Having amply satisfied hunger from the Haversacks of our dead foes. On the morrow, we gaily resumed the line of march towards Chattanooga. arriving about midday we found that our discomfited enemies had rallied and presented a bold front around the Earthworks, by which the place had been previously fortified. We now saw and felt the blunder committed in not following upon their retreating bands immediately, for we not only allowed them time to recover from their panic, but gave time to recruit and strengthen weak points in the lines. Moveing up we formed just under their guns, a solid column reaching from Tennessee River on the north to the river again on the west for here the river runs so as to enclose Chattanooga in a crescent. Below I have attempted a diagram of the place the River and our lines so as to be more fully understood.



Well you will laugh and say Papa's a poor draughtsman. If you can understand by the picture how we had them penned up twill have answered as good a purpose as though an artist had drawn it.

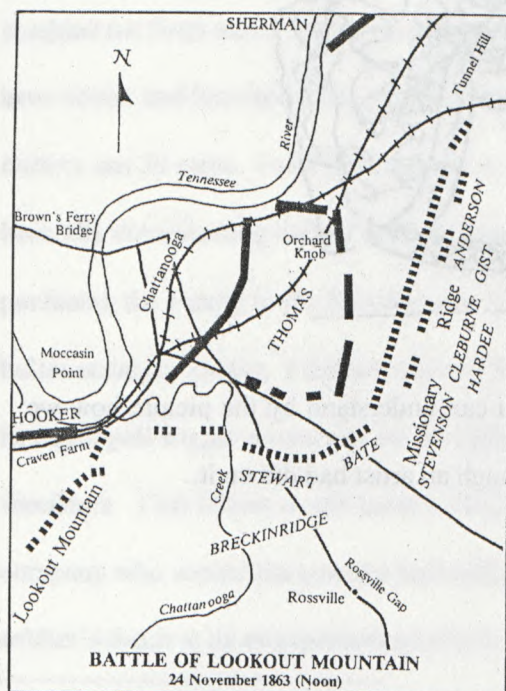
²²A readable account of this struggle is Peter Cuzzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); also Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*. There are over 40,000 web sites; see www.civilwarhome.com/Chattanooga.htm

You will observe the River hugs the town on three sides and our line filling up the front line left them in rather close quarters. So close indeed that for two long weary months every mouthful of rations consumed by them was transported over the rough mountains on Pack Mules, a very precarious mode of feeding a large army. We occupied our first line in Gunshot of the enemy for a week anticipating each succeeding hour the order to storm them, but that order never came. Genl. Bragg thought their works too strong to be carried by assault and vainly endeavored to starve them out. Our cavalry were constantly on the alert, scouring the country in their



Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War, p. 134. Used by permission

rear and not unfrequently destroyed immense supplies of food for man and beast, finding that our line was exposed to the enemies sharp shooters and an occasional shell we were ordered to fall back and formed a line of earthworks at what I have designated as "Our Winter Quarters, here we cut down trees, built cabins, and prepared to pass the winter now rapidly approaching. this line was at the base of a range of hills known as "Mission[ary] Ridge" which ran from the River on the north and curving towards "Lookout Mountain" still enclosed every avenue leading to the town from the East and South.



Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War, p. 446. Used by permission.

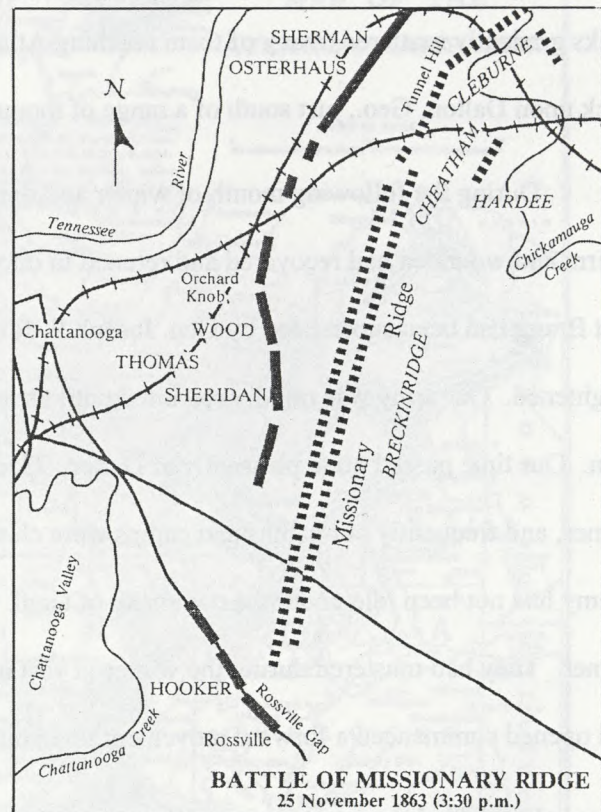
My mess soon had a comfortable log cabin built and we, rejoicing in our elegant home gladly moved in,

anticipating many merry hours under its friendly roof. Our disappointment therefore was very great when after a weeks shelter our division was ordered to move a mile down the line. Selling our "cabin" to those who took our position for 25 Doll[ar]s we set about building again and in a few days boasted a bulding not inferior to the first. After a few weeks occupancy we moved again and yet a third time we went to work with cheerful hands determined to have a house. haveing about completed our new building we

were again moved from the base to the top of "Mission[ary] Ridge." And now we began to have something else to occupy attention the enemy had been heavily reenforced from the west and one hundred and 50 thousand troops were about to attempt to drive us from their front. They had but the night before carried our lines on Lookout Mountain and were forming below in full view to storm "Mission[ary] Ridge." I stood on the brow of the hill for hours watching the formation of line after line until it looked as though the valley between us and Chattanooga was alive with "Blue Coats." Meanwhile Genl Bragg had formed on the backbone of the ridge and our troops seemingly

awaited the onset with calm courage. We supposed that' twould be almost impossible for the enemy to mount the ridge in the face of our fire, but the result proved that we had made a great mistake. True they were driven back time and time again but persevered with fresh columns, finally finding a weak place of feeble resistance just to our right.

They gained a position on the ridge and, rapidly swinging around, subjected our thinned ranks to a murderous cross fire a panic was the consequence. And such confusion and disorder I never beheld



Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War, p. 499. Used by permission.

before amongst "Rebels." Every man seemed to be running on his own hook. In vain, General Bragg and other officers attempted to stay their headlong flight. Fright was in the ascendant and no entreaty or threat could stem the current. Our division, "Bates," after retreating [a] half mile, reformed and presented such a front to the enemy that they halted, giving time for baggage supplies and what Artillery we had saved to make good its escape. We were so harassed however by a hot pursuit during the night that the ranks gradually scattered, many of them reaching Atlanta, Georgia. What remained of the army intact fell back upon Dalton, Geo., just south of a range of mountains and were safe from further pursuit²³.

During the following month of winter and the ensuing spring our forces were reorganized, our infirm and wounded had recovered and returned to duty, and our ears were greeted with the announcement that Bragg had been superseded by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston.²⁴ Under this state of affairs our hopes brightened. Our army was rapidly recruited until we could again take the field with 50,000 effective men. Our time passed quite pleasantly at Dalton. Georgians were in daily communication with their homes, and frequently our cabins and camps were cheered by the presence of our friends from home. The enemy had not been idle under the command of Genl. Sherman, an accomplished soldier and house burner. They had mustered during the winter in vast numbers at Chattanooga, and ere the buds of spring had opened commenced a forward movement upon our lines above Dalton.

I spoke a few moments since of a range of mountains behind which we had sheltered in the winter. Genl. Johnston had caused every Gap leading over this range of hills fortified and upon the approach of Sherman we were ordered to occupy a position to the left of the main thoroughfare. We occupied the line and waited patiently their approach. From our elevated position we could scan the

²³ A well documented treatment of Sherman's drive to Atlanta is found in Albert Castel, *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign, 1864* (Lawrence KA: University Press of Kansas, 1992), and in James Lee McDonough and James Pickett Jones, *War so Terrible: Sherman and Atlanta* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987). For contemporary drawings, maps, and photos of the Atlanta campaign, see *Civil War Times Illustrated*. Special Edition: The Campaign for Atlanta (Gettysburg, PA: Civil War Times, 1964).

²⁴ Joseph Eggleston Johnston, was born in Virginia 3 Feb 1807 and was a classmate of Robert E. Lee's at West Point in the 1820s. He had Mexican War service. Episcopal Bishop General Leonidas K. Polk baptized Johnston during the Civil War. He served for two years in the eastern areas before his quarrell with President Davis got him assigned to the Department of the West. After the fall of Chattanooga he replaced Braxton Bragg as commander of the Army of Tennessee. Gilbert E. Govan, *A Different Valor: The Story of Joseph E. Johnston* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956); also, sketches in Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 259-260; Warner *Generals in Gray*, 161-162.

county for miles and one bright spring day we saw their immense columns come in sight. For hours we watched their progress, finally night covered them and ourselves and we set about arranging for the

Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol 4, p. 251.

storm which we well knew would rage on the morrow.

The morning sun rose bright and joyous on the 9th of May/63 [sic: 1864] and found us fully prepared to repel the advance of the enemy. Feeling their way cautiously they slowly approached our position our



line of skirmishers engaged their advance and desultory fire was kept up during the entire day and succeeding night. Being elevated, we could see the fighting plainly and you can judge with what interest this species of warfare went on for four or five days, more or less severe as the lines were reinforced The

object of the enemy was not to give battle on a general scale but to keep our attention engaged while a second or third column moved upon our flanks, and thus cut off retreat if it became necessary for us to do so, or to obtain a position in our rear, Cut our line of communication with our supplies, and thus force us from the strong position we held with such pertinacity. Our strength did not exceed 50,000 men of all arms, whilst that of Sherman exceeded 150,000 (thousand), just three to one. He could engage our whole front with an army equal to ours and play upon our flanks with impunity.

Under these circumstances Genl Johntson was compelled to commence a series of retreats day after day and night after night which for success and economy of life and supplies is unequalled. During the night of the 12th we quietly moved and the whole army fell back to "Resaca" fifteen miles further south, keeping the mountain range and holding the gaps through it. Halting at this place, we found that the enemy had arrived and were prepared to dispute our further advance. After some preliminary arrangements we formed line of battle and made the attack. A desperate encounter was the result, but victory remained with us, the enemy falling back to await reinforcements. The shades of night had hardly veiled the contending armies, ere we were again upon the move. At daylight we reached a favourable position for defence, and we immediately fell vigorously to work, and by the time the enemy came up were fully prepared to meet them, and if possible, again drive their monster host back in dismay. We did not wait long upon them ere the sharp crack of a rifle upon our line of skirmishers told us to Cap our Guns. Here they made two or three assaults but failed to carry our position. Twas now our time and leaping our Earthworks we rushed upon their lines and scattered them like sheep. We could not pursue our successes however, for fear of the columns moveing upon our flank but had to return and as soon as darkness favoured the movement, fall back to another line keeping in communication with our supplies. Our next position was near the county site [seat] of Paulding Cty. I have forgotten the name of the village[Dallas]. Our division was on the right wing of the army and made a detour of 10 or 15 miles to intercept and hold back Hookers Column, which threatened to obtain possession of the Rail Road.

Twas terrible marching now June had come and the earth was parched and dry from a drought of

several weeks and many of our poor fellows fell by the wayside worn down with fatigue and thirst. We gained the point on our adversaries however, and had scarcely arrive and taken position, before our right to it was contested. Our boys fought them gallantly and in spite of immense odds held good what they had gained. Night put an end to the struggle and around our little breastworks all was still. We did not dare raise a fire for fear our strength would be exhibited to the enemy. So wore away that night of sadness, but ere the god of day streaked the eastern horizon, the heavy tread of armed men from the direction of our friends gave new hopes and new features to the scene. Our entire army had arrived, and now we gladly welcomed the rising dawn, for we knew the metal they were made of and did not fear the result. Spades and picks were put to work and by the time the morning dews had dispersed, our line of breastworks were completed and we quietly awaited the attack which we felt would be made.

"BATTLE OF NEW HOPE CHURCH" [May 25]

The arrival of our army had as before intimated disapated our forebodeings. We rather anxiously awaited the movement of Sherman. The day passed however and nothing save heavy skirmishing all around the lines indicated his presence. About 9 o'clock at night whilst all were about to lie down and rest, they advanced and drove in our line of skirmishers. We stood to our guns and let them come within Pistol Range and then gave them a volley that sent many a Blue coat to a warmer latitude. So effective was our fire that they fell back and disturbed us no more that night. Early the next day a movement upon our left indicated fight and our division was moved rapidly to meet it. We got there just in time to turn the scale. After 30 minutes close and hard fighting, he fell back and we occupied the field. Just here my friend "Denson" who I mentioned sometime since was killed in the skirmish line. We buried the poor fellow with all the decency possible and returned once again to the field, foiled in the effort to turn our flank. A general assault was made along our entire front but so steadily and manfully did our boys bear themselves that it resulted ignominiously to them and they were forced to fall back again. Another and yet another attack all of which were speedily repulsed. The loss of the enemy in this engagement was very heavy exceeding 5 thousand. After so fearful and terrible a lesson they gave up the design of

walking over us but renewed their old tactics and again started to walk around us. So ended the Battle of "New Hope Church," gallantly won but our success availed nothing on account of our small numbers and the host we contended against.

To meet the flanking movement from "New Hope" we again took the road and travelled all night, and at daylight reached Cassville²⁵. Here we again threw up Earthworks and awaited events. No enemy disturbed our quiet during the day but on the succeeding day we were put to work strengthening our lines. After skirmishing for hours, he gradually let us rest and we supposed they had become tired of the pursuit. From this supposition we were made aware of the fact that the enemy had or were about to reach our rear. hastily gathering up our troops we took the main highway to Adairsville arriving just in time. We soon had a ditch which a horse could hardly leap and were ready for the enemy.

Appearing first upon our left they were hotly engaged by Cheatham's division and successfully driven back; more fortunate however upon our right, they succeeded in gaining our flank and after a desperate struggle we were forced to surrender the field and retreat still further south. Having now got too far south for the friendly range of mountains to protect either flank. We fell back day by day or night after night until we reached Marietta, having found here some natural advantages. Genl. Johnston determined that we should rest our weary limbs and recover somewhat that elasticity of spirit which had fagged under the incessant marching and fighting of the last thirty days.

We soon had formidable earthworks around our entire line and Enemy were somewhat slow to come to them. We were kept constantly on the alert, however by the activity of our foes who let no opportunity escape to annoy and worry. No engagement worthy of note occurred however for a week. Still our line of skirmishers were constantly engaged. Finally coming to the conclusion that fighting was his peculiar forte, Sherman advanced upon a portion of our line rather to our left. Gradually the fighting extended up our way, and the fun became general for half an hour. The enemy exhibited unusual

²⁵ Gray has mistaken the sequence of events or places. The battle around Cassville occurred 19-20 May, before New Hope Church; that at Adairsville 17 May. He probably refers to movement to the Kennesaw Mountain area in June 1864, after the retreat from the Dallas-New Hope-Pickett's Mill line.

gallantry in this affair, frequently pressing up to our earthworks to the muzzle of our pieces. Finding our boys firm and undismayed they finally ceased to endeavour and returned to their camps in full view. In this engagement our loss was extremely light, whilst that of the enemy was terrible. Their dead and wounded lay all along the line and the piteous groans of those who were still suffering excited our sympathy. We went forward and afforded all the relief possible. Under a flag of truce, the enemy came forward and buried their dead. And men who but the day before glared at each other with deadly hate, now walked over the field side by side and discussed the merits of the fight. We occupied this line for a week with more or less fighting. Finding it impossible to force our position Genl. Sherman again availed himself of his numbers and moved a heavy column upon our flank. Perceiving this Gen. Johnston again fell back from a line which had yielded us nothing but glory and occupied a position on the Chattahoochee River 7 miles above "Atlanta." This place had been strongly fortified by Negro labour[ours] and we were allowed to rest quietly behind its friendly shelter.

I had a very narrow escape along this line. Passing up in order to observe our defences the day after our arrival I stopped for a few moments at an opening and was wondering why it was left. Suddenly I caught sight of a cloud of white smoke about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in my front and had barely time to throw myself flat upon the ground ere a three inch solid shot went whistling over my head had I remained standing twould have mangled me dreadfully. Crawling down a gentle declivity, I soon place a few bushes between my self and so expert a gunner. On another occasion at Marietta, I had just crossed my legs upon the ground and commenced my breakfast in company with my brother Marion and one or two others, when a yankee bullet knocked the bread out of my hand as I lifted it to my mouth. Such escapes and dangers were so frequently occurring as hardly to occasion a second thought. In looking back upon such scenes, I am surprised at what a condition of indifference to hazard of life men arrive at from constant exposure to it.

We had now been actively engaged in marching fighting and digging ditches for sixty days and nights probably not an hour of all that time had we been allowed to rest in perfect security. All day and

all night the sound of the guns of the enemy or our own rung in our ears. Our losses in the various engagements from Dalton to the Chattahoochee River footed up 20,000 while General Sherman's official report placed theirs at 40,000. Both armies felt need of rest, and after crossing the River we enjoyed a peace of two weeks. During this time Sherman was recruiting and moving upon our flanks, so that we saw an immense amount of work before us. "Atlanta" was the next point of defence and although an immense amount of labour and scientific knowledge had been spent upon its defences still Genl Johnston concluded that he could not hold it. And the "War Department" at Richmond differing in opinion, Gen. Johnston was removed and Gen Hood²⁶ was placed in supreme command, which he immediately assumed and falling back upon "Peach Tree" Creek three miles north of that place proposed to contest every inch of ground we held. For a day or two, no enemy appeared but on the 19th of July they came up and assaulted our lines immediately. We held the position however and gave them such a warm reception that they gladly retired. This was a brilliant affair for us and we began to believe that Hood would be able to keep his promise. On the 20th, the fight was renewed with various success during the entire day but towards night we were informed that the enemy had succeeded in forcing a passage upon our right and a move became imperative. Silently we turned our faces towards the City and sadly bade adieu to our unfortunate comrades who "slept the sleep that knows no waking" upon that bloody field.

We arrived in the city about midnight and found all excitement and bustle. We supposed that Atlanta was then to be surrendered but "Hood" died game. Moving rapidly southward we changed direction to the East about an hour today and learned for the first time that ours was a flank movement upon the left of the enemy by "Hardee's Corps." This was on the 22nd day of July. Arriving within a mile or two of the enemy our columns were halted and a reconnoitering party advanced to find out the

²⁶John Bell Hood, born in Kentucky 29 Jun 1831. After West Point in 1853 he was a career officer but joined the Confederate cause. He lost an arm at Gettysburg and his right leg at Chickamauga. He was promoted to Lt. Gen. and on 18 July 1864 to full general. After failing at Atlanta, he asked to be relieved and reverted in rank to Lt. Gen. He served under Beauregard in the fighting around Nashville. He died in New Orleans 30 August 1879. Richard McMurry, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1992).

position of affairs. returning about 9 o'clock they reported the enemy in full force but evidently ignorant of our active movement. Our lines now formed and we cautiously advanced.

BATTLE OF 22ND JULY

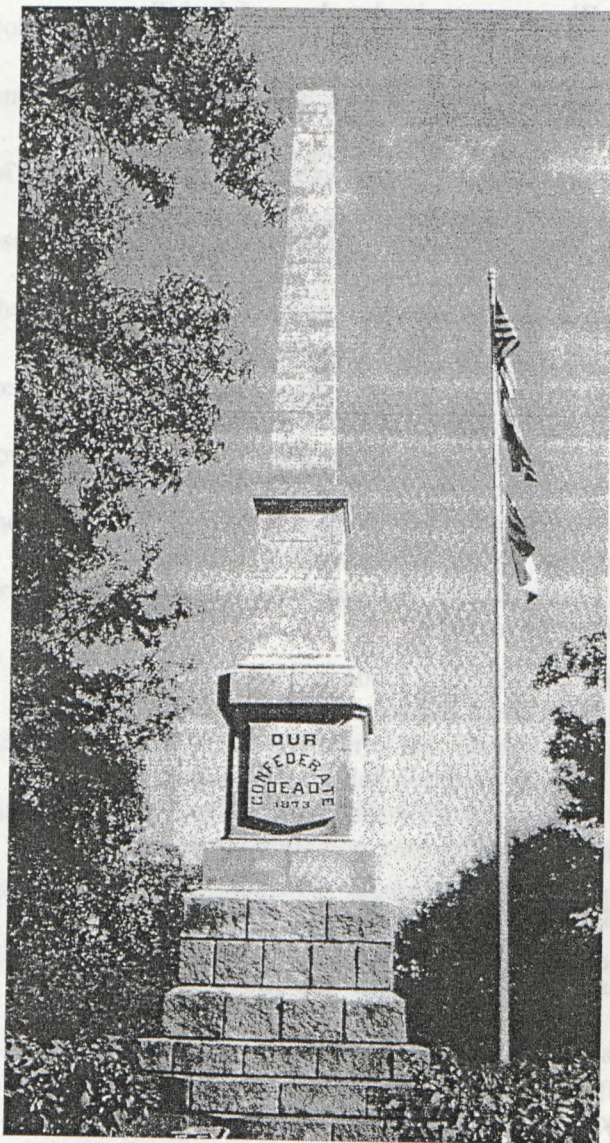
With high hopes and full determination animating our weary bodies we gradually approached the Enemy. Coming in view of their lines, we found to our surprise that they were extremely well fortified and on the alert. Our division had to descend a considerable hill and cross a wide morass advance through an old field three hundred yards to get to them. We were permitted to descend the hill undisturbed. Not a gun was fired until we reached and were wading through the swamp thigh deep in mud and water. Our lines were disorganized somewhat by the nature of the ground, but the boys struggled manfully forward. The enemy now opened upon us with grape and cannister as well as small arms and rained upon us a fire of metal such as I then thought I had never been exposed to before. Still pressing forward, I saw my comrades going down on either side of me by dozens. Forward; forward; our safety lay before us. Reaching the enemies line of works one solid sheet of flame seemed to envelope them. Up to this moment we had scarcely fired a gun. And now our ranks were so thinned by the destructive fire that it seemed impossible to achieve anything. In vain our brave boys essayed to mount their works, thrust back bleeding wounded and dying, twas impossible.

Just then I felt like something had crushed my leg. I was down and scarcely knew how. My limb felt so deadened that I certainly thought it had been carried away by a cannon ball I lay for some time thinking how to act what to do. Our line had retreated and the enemy were preparing to send out a line of skirmishers, seeing that I was a prisoner, I brought all of my philosophy to bear upon the case and submitted as cheerfully as possible under the circumstances of my condition. The enemy finding that our lines were completely broken soon had the wounded transferred from the field to a Hospital. Here my wound was dressed and skillfully and kindly treated. I lay in the hospital eight days, my wound healing rapidly, and from this place was sent to Camp Chase near "Columbus, Ohio" a prisoner of war. Having now ended my story of war and its trials and danger, I shall give you some account of my prison life and

then wind up this long story.

[Editor's Note: The memoirs will be continued in our next issue.]

Monuments to Confederate Dead, Oakland Cemetery Atlanta, Georgia



*"Silently we turned our faces
toward the City and sadly bade
adieu to our unfortunate
comrades who 'slept the sleep that
knows no wakeing' upon that
bloody field."*

R. M. Gray



CLAPP'S FACTORY CEMETERY BURIALS

John Mallory Land, Compiler

[Compiler's note: No contemporaneous record of burials at the Clapp's Factory Cemetery has been located. The earliest list of burials in this cemetery was done by Buster W. Wright. It was transcribed for online posting by Lea L. Dowd (see www.muscogeegenealogy.com). An asterisk [*] by a name indicates its presence on the Buster W. Wright/Lea L. Dowd list. Additional data has been accumulated by Rose Bird, Gwen (Grant) Bryan, Sue Gilbert, Kemis Massey, Cynthia Nason, and John Mallory Land; however, a number of the burials remain conjectural. Leslie Smith of Lannett, Alabama, helped by providing access to Torbert Funeral Home records. The current compiler acknowledges that mistakes doubtless were made and requests that additions and corrections be forwarded to him at e-mail: retrofit@flash.net]

ABNEY, Elvina – 10 OCT 1839 – 13 JUL 1858, daughter of Absolom P. & Rosannah (HALL) ABNEY. Elvina is said to be a twin sister to Elvira L. ABNEY who m. 19 JUL 1858 in Muscogee Co, GA to Robert Jasper STATHAM; the ABNEY and STATHAM families were among the Clapp's Factory community on the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative, but likely. [LAND]

ABNEY, Nancy Jane – 22 NOV 1852 (prob. in AL) – 11 APR 1863, daughter of Absolom P. & Rosannah (HALL) ABNEY. The families were living in the Clapp's Factory community in Muscogee Co, GA in 1860 and in Brownville, Lee Co, AL in 1870. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative, but highly likely. [LAND]

ABNEY, Rosannah (HALL) – 09 MAY 1817 SC – 18 MAR 1900 Phenix City, Russell Co, AL, said to be daughter of Lemuel & Martha (HARKNESS) HALL, Rosannah m. 04 JAN 1835 in Newton Co, GA to Absolom P. ABNEY, who d. 07 SEP 1855, probably in Chambers Co, AL, and the family had moved to Muscogee Co, GA, by 1858. The cemetery is known to have been in use as late as 1904, and while Rosannah's burial there is speculative, it is somewhat likely. [LAND]

[*]BELCHER, Mrs. Elizabeth (NEWSOME) - age 71 (so born 1727 or 1728) in GA, d. 31 MAR 1899 (Clapp's Factory?), Muscogee Co, GA; daughter of James & Elizabeth (NEWSOM) NEWSOM, husband's name not known at this time. She died at her residence about two miles north of Columbus [perhaps at the Clapp's Factory settlement] at about 6:00 Friday morning, 31 MAR 1899, following a protracted illness. She left behind no children, but quite a number of other relatives. Interment occurred at 1:00 p.m. on Saturday, 01 APR 1899 at the Clapp's Factory burying ground. *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 01 APR 1899, p. 3.

BROWN, Mrs. Nancy – age 98 (so born 1857 or 1858), d. 07 OCT 1856, "one of few remaining who survived the [American] Revolution," per death notice dated 11 NOV 1856 (from *Burials and Deaths Reported in the Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer, 1832-1872*, by Buster W. WRIGHT, 1984). A note made in the copy on file with the Bradley Memorial Library in Columbus, Georgia, states that Mr. Carl ETHRIDGE <carlwe@mindspring.com> confirms that Mrs. Nancy BROWN, an ancestor of Mrs. Carl ETHRIDGE, is buried in Columbus Factory Cemetery, a.k.a. Clapp's Factory Cemetery.

[*] BROWN, Thomas, infant of - age 1 day, 03 JUL 1899-04 JUL 1899, probably at the

family residence at a boarding house on 13th Street, Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA; burial date not given. Coffin two feet, made by Simmons – no handles and no name plate, \$4.50. Arrangements by Torbert Funeral Home [per entry #65 (p. 70) of *Funeral Record and Price List*, 22 AUG 1899-20 MAR 1900].

[*] CAIN, Miss Kate - age 51 (so born 1846 or 1847), p. 3, *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 10 JUL 1898

CAIN, J. F. - only marker now in cemetery, no dates. Same as grave of a child, J. F. CAIN, per pp. 1 and 8, *The Columbus Enquirer*, 04 FEB 1955, as cited by Gwen (GRANT) BRYAN. List reported by June & Lewis HANNA shows "J. P. [sic] CAIN" (no dates) on "flat concrete slab alongside dirt road after you enter the cemetery" (which is now more of a path along the north side of the cemetery); Buster WRIGHT's list reports this burial as J. R. [sic] CAIN.

CAST, Almerta – age 5 days, [so born 12 JUN 1899, prob. in Brownville, Lee Co, AL], d. 17 JUN 1899 Brownville, Lee Co, AL, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. W. L. CAST, died at residence at 12:50 o'clock. "The remains will be taken to Clapp's factory this morning for interment in the family burying grounds." P. 3, *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 18 JUN 1889.

[*] CLEGG, Miss Mary C. - age 46 (so born 1843 or 1844), *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 08 FEB 1890, p. 8. [The following family appears in Nances District on the 1880 federal census of Muscogee Co, GA: Antony CLEGG (age 59, b. England, a cotton manufacturer), Mary (50), Antony (19), Bertha (17), Willie (male, 12) – wife and children b. GA. Next door is: John F. CLEGG (27, b. AL, bookkeeper in cotton mill), and Libbie (23, b. England) – both parents of each b. England.]

COLE, John W(illiam?) – [b. ca. 1787 SC, d. 1870's, prob. in Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA; believed to have served from SC in the War of 1812; resided in Lancaster Co, SC by 1820; moved to Monroe Co, GA ca. 1833, later to Russell Co, AL (all per Cynthia NASON)]

COLE, Margaret (HOOD) – [b. ca. 1790 SC, d. age 89 in 1879 in Muscogee Co, GA or Russell Co, AL, (she appears on the 1880 mortality schedule for both counties—Muscogee Co. is more likely the correct place of death), daughter of Archibald and Catherine (UNKNOWN) HOOD, wife of John W. COLE, (all per Cynthia NASON).]

COLE, Mary Virginia (JACKSON) – [b. ca. 1849 Marion Co, GA, d. ca. 1888 Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA, purportedly during an influenza epidemic, dau. of Seaborn & Nancy "Mammy" (VICKERY?) JACKSON. Mary m. 16 NOV 1871 in Muscogee Co, GA, to Wiley V. COLE, a grandson of John W. & Margaret (HOOD) COLE above; Wiley is buried in an unmarked grave at Girard Cemetery (all per Cynthia NASON).]

[*] FOSTER, Charlie C. - age 4 years and 6 months (so born between 16 DEC 1894 and 15 JAN 1895), d. 15 JUL 1899 [probably at family residence at 107 21st Street, Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA], apparently son of S. J. FOSTER, who ordered the funeral. Died of dysentery. Buried on 16 JUL 1899 at Clapps [Factory Cemetery]. Coffin three feet nine inches, made by Knox, \$8.75; Robe, \$2.50; wagon, \$2.50; total \$13.75 paid; arrangements by Torbert Funeral Home [per entry #71 (p. 76) of *Funeral Record and Price List*, 22 AUG 1899-20 MAR 1900].

HARRISON, Sims – (_ MAY 1891-13 MAY 1891 Girard, Lee Co, AL), infant son of Mr. & Mrs. F. M. HARRISON, died Wednesday evening, 13 MAY 1891 after a short illness of congestion of the lungs; buried at nine o'clock Thursday morning, 14 MAY 1891 at Clapp's

Factory, the Rev. C. W. SNOW officiating. *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 15 MAY 1891, p. 4.

[*] HEATH, Benjamin F. – age not known (d. 1856); his grave marker was the eldest of about twenty concrete or marble markers remaining in the cemetery, out of approximately 200 marked graves and about that many more unmarked, though burials purportedly began as early as 1835, *The Columbus Ledger Sunday Magazine*, 29 JUL 1928, p. 16.

[*] HELMS, Louisa J. – age 64, born 1816, died [after 01 JUN] 1880, article – *The Columbus Ledger Sunday Magazine*, 29 JUL 1928, p. 16. [Appears on 1880 census of Nances Dist., Muscogee Co, GA, p. 510A, as follows: George W. HELMS (66 NC works in cotton mill), Louisa (64 GA), Sarah (39 GA), Ellen (31 GA), George (29 GA), and Nancy (21 GA). Others in hh include GARDNER (from Rhoda Island), HIGHTOWER, and JENKINS (a Black domestic). All but Louise, Sarah, and JENKINS work in the cotton mill.]

[*] HILL, Burree – age 1 year, 3 months (so born between 08 FEB 1898 and 07 MAR 1898), d. 07 JUN 1899 [probably at the family residence at Ap. oil mill], probably son of Ethel HILL, who ordered the funeral. Buried at Clapps [Factory Cemetery], burial date not given. Coffin two feet, six inches, made by Knox, \$10.00; Robe, \$2.00; two carriages, \$8.00; total \$20.00 paid; arrangements by Torbert Funeral Home [per entry #45 (p. 50) of *Funeral Record and Price List*, 22 AUG 1899-20 MAR 1900].

HILL, Charlotte (JONES) – [b. 01 MAR 1844 Campbell (now Fulton) Co, GA, d. 08 MAY 1901 in Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA, apparently daughter of James & Charlotte (SILVEY) JONES of Campbell Co, GA. Charlotte is the wife of Daniel Washington "Wash" HILL (son of Jesse & Dicey (COGGINS) HILL below), and according to her obituary, she was buried in Double Churches Cemetery in (now Columbus) Muscogee Co, GA, but family oral tradition states this is in error and that she is actually at Clapp's Cemetery (all per Cynthia NASON).]

HILL, Dicey (COGGINS) – [b. ca. 1812 SC, d. 1870's, prob. dau. of Asahel & Nancy (TOLLE(R)SON/ TOLLISON) COGGINS. Dicey m. JUL 1840 Chambers Co, AL to Jesse HILL; by 1870, they had moved to Muscogee Co, GA (all per Cynthia NASON).]

HILL, Jesse [b. ca. 1813 SC, d. 1870's. Jesse m. JUL 1840 in Chambers Co, AL to Dicey COGGINS, and by 1870 the family were in Muscogee Co, GA (all per Cynthia NASON).]

HILL, Sarah (WATSON) – [b. ca. 1834 GA, d. bef. 1876 in Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA. Sarah m. 01 JAN 1867 in Muscogee Co, GA to William Henry "Uncle Bill" HILL, son of Jesse & Dicey (COGGINS) HILL. Uncle Bill tended the family burial plot at Clapp's, d. 1931, and is buried at Riverdale Cemetery in Columbus (all per Cynthia NASON).]

HILL, Sophronia – [b. ca. 1848 Chambers Co, GA, d. 1870's prob. at Clapp's Factory, Muscogee Co, GA, daughter of Jesse & Dicey (COGGINS) HILL, evidently died unmarried. Her burial at Clapp's Cemetery, though speculative, seems likely (all per Cynthia NASON).]

HINES, May Belle – age 11 months [so born JUN 1888], d. 31 MAY 1889 Brownville, Lee Co, AL, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. W. M. HINES, "died at their residence in Browneville at 10 o'clock last Friday night, after an illness of five weeks with dysentery. The remains will be carried to Clapp's factory this morning at 10 o'clock for interment in the family burial grounds." P. 3, *Columbus [Ga.] Daily Enquirer-Sun*, Sunday, 02 JUN 1899.

JACKSON, Nancy "Mammy" (VICKERY?) – [b. ca. 1816 GA, d. after 1880, m. ca. 1835

Seaborn JACKSON, b. ca. 1817 GA, d. 21 JUL 1863 in Port Hudson, East Baton Rouge Par, LA, following his parole from Union war prison, and probably buried in that vicinity. The family were in Sumter Co, GA 1840; Marion Co, GA 1850; Tallapoosa Co, AL 1860; widow and most of her children appear 1870 in Columbus Muscogee Co, GA; she appears 1880 in Brownville, Lee Co, AL, with two of her daughters, one of whom is working in a cotton mill – evidently Clapp's Factory (all per Cynthia NASON)]

LEWIS, John P. - 12 DEC 1812-10 FEB 1885, *The Columbus Enquirer*, 04 FEB 1955, pp. 1 & 8. A piece of concrete bearing the letters "J O" and another reading "FEB 1885" were found in a small cut or gully on the north side of the dirt road leading into the cemetery (reported by June & Lewis HANNA on 28 JUN 1984. Onsite investigation on 09 FEB 2003 confirmed the presence of these two pieces, in addition to another, which reads "H N P. L E W I S," further down the slope, and a fourth piece, which lies in a shallow sink in the cemetery proper. These clearly constitute most of the grave marker of John P. LEWIS reported in 1955.

LUMMUS, Dorothy Adele, b. __ MAR 1893, d. 11 FEB 1895 Juniper, Talbot Co, GA, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Louis E. LUMMUS, Dorothy, within a few days of two years old, died at home at 1:00 p.m. Monday, 11 FEB 1895, of injuries sustained on Sunday morning when her clothes caught fire as she was warming herself by an open flame. Note that a separate item entitled "Personal Mention" states that "Mr. Frank LUMMUS of Juniper was in the city yesterday [Monday]." *The Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, Wednesday, 13 FEB 1895, p. 4. A small pink marble headstone bearing "beloved daughter of Louis [E.] & Josephine (?) LUMMUS" and these dates was located by Mr. Benny BROOKINS in a gully to the south of the main area of Clapp's Factory Cemetery and reported by June & Lewis HANNA on 28 JUN 1984.

[*] MARTIN, Gladis - age 49 days (so born 03 MAR 1901), d. 17 APR 1901, Torbert (a.k.a. Britton & Dobbs) Funeral Records as reported by Brady WILSON and Edge REID in *Abstract of Funeral Records* (1977), Part II – original volume missing from collection.

[*] MILLER, Mrs. Beulah - age 31 (so born between 13 MAR 1867 and 12 MAR 1868), 12 MAR 1899 Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA, Mrs. MILLER, who died at her home at Howard Boarding House, No. 16 West Thirteenth Street after a lingering illness of consumption, was survived by her husband, Mr. Dan MILLER, and one child. The funeral took place at the family residence at 12:00 [noon] Monday, 13 MAR 1899, conducted by the Rev. G. W. CUMBUS "in an impressive manner." The interment was at Clapp's Factory burying ground. *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, Tuesday, 14 MAR 1899, p. 5. Her coffin was 5'9", No. 0, made by Knoxville, with six No. 11 handles and no name plate, \$12.50; box and inexpensive white robe, \$2.00; a hearse, \$5.00 and two carriages, \$7.00; for a total of \$26.50, which was marked paid; arrangements by Torbert Funeral Home [per entry #20 (p. 25) of *Funeral Record and Price List*, 22 AUG 1899-20 MAY 1900].

[*] MILLER, Evalina - age 14 months (so born AUG 1899), d. 06 OCT 1899 [probably at the family residence at 1410 Broad St., Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA], daughter of Dan & Beulah (UNKNOWN) MILLER, burial date not given. Cause of death: "teething." Coffin size two feet, six inches, made by Knox[ville], \$7.50; one carriage, \$4.00; total \$11.50, arrangements by Torbert Funeral Home [per entry #117 of *Funeral Record and Price List*, 03 JAN 1899-19 AUG 1899].

[*] MILLER, Mary, child of - age 3, (so born between 26 APR 1897 and 25 APR 1898), d. 25 APR 1901, Torbert (a.k.a. Britton & Dobbs) Funeral Records as reported by Brady WILSON and Edge REID in *Abstract of Funeral Records* (1977), Part II, p. 22 – original volume

missing from collection. [Note regarding MILLER family: according to an interview conducted by Rose BIRD, the great-grand-parents of Luther MILLER (former Columbus Chief of Police, retired) were buried in the Clapp's Factory Cemetery. Luther's son, Luther MILLER, Jr., who goes by the name "Peanut" and worked for Fire Station Number 3 on Sixth Avenue in Columbus, said his grandfather had a key to the gate to gain entry because Georgia Power had to provide access to relatives of those buried there. Perhaps one or more of these MILLER individuals are kin of the Luther MILLER.]

MORRIS, Richard Ivey – [b. 28 FEB 1818 Elbert Co, GA, d. 16 APR 1888 Phenix City, Russell Co, AL, son of Joseph & Nancy (ALLGOOD) MORRIS and widower of Mary Joice (CHRISTIAN) MORRIS, b. 15 FEB 1814 Madison Co, GA, d. APR 1862 Flat Rock, Randolph Co, AL, where she is buried. Ivey and Mary m. 01 MAR 1839 in Meriwether Co, GA (per transcribed family Bible records and World Connect data via descendant Cheryl (MORRIS) SUMNER <Irishstr2@aol.com>, as well as "Descendants of William BARNES," compiled by David Elbridge BARNES <Dbarnes462@aol.com> and posted online by Dorothy SIPE <Dotsipe@aol.com>).]

MORRIS, William Osborn – [b. 06 MAR 1846 Muscogee Co, GA, d. before 1850 (not in parents' household on 1850 federal census of Muscogee Co, GA), son of Richard Ivey & Mary Joice (CHRISTIAN) MORRIS (per family Bible records provided by Cheryl (MORRIS) SUMNER, and "Descendants of William BARNES," compiled by David Elbridge BARNES <Dbarnes462@aol.com> and posted online by Dorothy SIPE <Dotsipe@aol.com>).]

NEWSOM, Alice Josephine – b. 01 MAY 1866 (prob. in Muscogee Co.) GA, d. 06 SEP 1871 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA) - this is Henry's second of eight children by Permelia A. PAGE, which family were residing in the Clapp's Factory community in Muscogee Co, GA, on the 1870 census. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative, but likely [LAND].

NEWSOM, Catherine Lewcina [=Lucinda] – b. 28 MAY 1857 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA), d. 04 MAY 1858 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA), daughter of Henry M. NEWSOM and his first wife, Mary Ellen ABNEY; they m. 1855 in Muscogee Co, GA, and were in the Clapp's Factory community on the 1860 census. As of 1850, Henry was already living in the area with his widowed mother and siblings. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative, but likely [LAND].

NEWSOM, Clara Tabitha – b. 11 DEC 1861 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA), d. 30 JAN 1863 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA), daughter of Henry M. NEWSOM and his first wife, Mary Ellen ABNEY; they m. 1855 in Muscogee Co, GA, and were in the Clapp's Factory community on the 1860 census. As of 1850, Henry was already living in the area with his widowed mother and siblings. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative, but likely [LAND].

NEWSOM, Elizabeth (NEWSOM) – b. ca. 1798 SC, d. after 1860 prob. in or near Muscogee Co, GA; her parentage is unknown. She m. 07 AUG 1816 in Warren Co, GA, to James NEWSOM, who died in the early 1840's in Harris Co, GA. As a widow, Elizabeth heads a household in the Clapp's Factory community in Muscogee Co. in 1850 and 1860, and several of her children are buried in the cemetery. Elizabeth's burial at Clapp's Factory is speculative, but rather likely [LAND].

[*] NEWSOM, Miss Frances Penelope - age 56 (so born 1833 or 1834 in Harris Co, GA), d. 19 AUG 1890 Harris Co, GA [believed to be daughter of James & Elizabeth (NEWSOM) NEWSOM—John Mallory LAND]. "The friends of Miss F. P. NEWSOM will be pained to learn of her death, which occurred at her home, in Harris county, fifteen miles north of the city, at 6:30

o'clock yesterday afternoon, at the age of fifty-six years. Miss "NEWSOM leaves six brothers and four sisters. One of her brothers, Mr. James NEWSOM, is a merchant in Phenix City. Her remains will be interred at Clapp's Factory at 12 o'clock this morning." *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 20 AUG 1890, p. 4.

[*] NEWSOM, James - b. ca. 1834 Harris Co, GA, d. NOV 1897, [believed to be son of James & Elizabeth (NEWSOM) NEWSOM—John Mallory LAND], family knowledge, Mrs. Buster W. WRIGHT

NEWSOM, John - b. 14 AUG 1820 Warren Co, GA, d. 1895-96 [believed to be son of James & Elizabeth (NEWSOM) NEWSOM—John Mallory LAND], husband of Telitha (PIKE) NEWSOME, burial per family knowledge, Sue (Mrs. Jack) GILBERT [speculative, but highly likely - LAND].

NEWSOM, Martha An[n] Elizabeth - b. 24 JUL 1859 in (prob. Muscogee Co) GA, d. 05 APR 1871 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA), appears in the Clapp's Factory community of Muscogee Co. as an unnamed female infant, age 1, b. GA, in the 1860 household of her parents Henry & Ellen (ABNEY) NEWSOM, and Martha, age 12, in the 1870 household of Henry and his second wife Permelia. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative, but likely [LAND].

NEWSOM, Mary Ellen (ABNEY) - b. 27 JAN 1837 AL, d. 19 SEP 1863 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA), apparently due to complications from childbirth, dau. of Absolom & Rosannah (HALL) ABNEY; m. 16 DEC 1855 in Muscogee Co, GA to Henry M. NEWSOME, brother to F. Penelope NEWSOME, James NEWSOME, and Elizabeth (NEWSOME) BELCHER who are buried at Clapp's Factory. After Ellen's death, Henry m2. Permelia A. PAGE, whose brother William PAGE is also buried at there. Henry and Permelia were living in the Clapp's Factory community on 29 JUL 1869 when their daughter, Candis Dorinda NEWSOM was born (per family Bible record). None of Henry's five children by Ellen is known to have survived to adulthood, and they too are likely buried at Clapp's Cemetery. (However, Ellen's and the children's interments there are speculative at this time.) [LAND]

[*] NEWSOM, Mary/Martha (UNKNOWN)- wife of James, b. ca. 1837 GA, d. ca. 1897-98, family knowledge, Mrs. Buster W. WRIGHT

NEWSOM, Robert Marion - b. 04 OCT 1873 (prob. Muscogee Co.) GA, d. 15 JUN 1881 (perhaps in Muscogee Co, GA) - this is Henry's fifth of eight children by Permelia A. PAGE; the family were living in the Clapp's Factory community at Brownville, Lee Co, AL on the 1880 census, so it's possible Robert is buried at Clapp's Factory. However, the family were in Carroll Co, GA by MAR 1884, when Henry and Permelia's eldest child Barney married [LAND].

NEWSOM, unnamed son - b. JUN 1858 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA), perhaps the child called Charles NEWSOM, age 4, b. GA, in the household of his parents Henry & Ellen (ABNEY) NEWSOM on the 1860 federal census of the Clapp's Factory community in Muscogee Co, GA. His death date has not been determined, but he does not appear with the family thereafter. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative [LAND].

NEWSOM, unnamed son - b. 18 SEP 1863 (prob. in Muscogee Co, GA). Death date for this child is not known, but his mother, Ellen (ABNEY) NEWSOM, died the day after he was born, and he does not appear thereafter with the family of his father Henry M. NEWSOM, who was residing in the Clapp's Factory community on the 1860 and 1870 censuses of Muscogee Co. Burial at Clapp's Factory speculative [LAND].

NEWSOM, Telitha (PIKE) -- b. 06 MAY 1827, Clarke Co, GA, d. 1900-10, daughter of Esau & Telitha (UNKNOWN) PIKE, wife of John NEWSOME, burial per family knowledge, Sue (Mrs. Jack) GILBERT [speculative, but highly likely - LAND]. [Note: the spellings NEWSOM and NEWSOME are used interchangeably for the same individuals and families throughout the record. - jml]

[*] NIX, Edgar Alton - age 1 (so born between 12 APR 1902 and 13 APR 1903), 13 APR 1904, Torbert (a.k.a. Britton & Dobbs) Funeral Records as reported by Brady WILSON and Edge REID in *Abstract of Funeral Records* (1977), Part II, p. 29 - original volume missing from collection. [The following family appears in the Bozeman Dist. on the 1880 federal census of Muscogee Co, GA (all b. GA): William A. NIX (age 37, a farmer), Mariam NIX (33), Jerry M. NIX (12), John W. NIX (7), Edgar C. NIX (5), Edwin C. NIX (5), Cora J. NIX (3), and Minnie L. NIX (2). Also, James THOMPSON (b. 16 JAN 1815) of northern Muscogee Co, GA, had a daughter Mary THOMPSON who m. a NEWSOME; they had a daughter NEWSOME who m. Edgar NIX. Edgar had a daughter or sister-in-law named Eleander, who never married. Seeking to find out how either of these families may be connected to the one-year-old Edgar Alton NIX d. 1904 and to the various NEWSOMES also buried at Clapp's Factory - jml]

PAGE, Robert - b. ca. 1810 SC or GA, d. 1860's, prob. either in Muscogee Co, GA, or Brownville, Lee Co, AL. Robert appears with his wife Sarah and their children on the 1860 census of the Clapp's Factory community in Muscogee Co, GA. Their son William died near Savannah during service in the CSA and was buried in the Clapp's Factory Cemetery. By 1870, Sarah is widowed and heading a household in Brownville, Lee Co, AL, among families of cotton mill operatives who are evidently employed at Clapp's Factory. The most likely burial place for Robert would be Clapp's Factory. Sarah's death date and place are unknown, but she is a good candidate as well, as are some of their other children. Robert's burial at Clapp's Factory is speculative, but extremely likely. [LAND]

PAGE, Sarah - b. ca. 1810 SC, d. after 1880 perhaps in Brownville, Lee Co, AL. Sarah's parentage is unknown. She m. before 1838, probably in Georgia, to Robert PAGE, who d. in the 1860's. As a widow, Sarah heads a household on the 1870 and 1880 censuses of Brownville, Lee Co, AL. Sarah's burial at Clapp's Factory is speculative, but likely. [LAND]

[*] PAGE, William - b. ca. 1841 GA, son of Robert & Sarah (UNKNOWN) PAGE, died 15 MAR 1862 at Camp Mercer, kidaway Island, Chatham Co, GA. Died in 1862 on Skedaway [sic] Island as a Private in Company A, 27th Regiment, Georgia Militia, per *The Columbus Ledger Sunday Magazine*, 29 JUL 1928, p. 16, which also includes a photograph of his marble headstone. An online source shows in Company A, 31st Regiment, Georgia Volunteer Infantry, Muscogee County: William PAGE, Private, [enlisted] 20 SEP 1861; died on 15 MAR 1862 at Skidaway, Island [outside Savannah in Chatham Co.], Georgia. There was a William H. PAGE in Company C of the 27th Regiment, but he is not the same as our William PAGE; the 31st seems to be correct, and he perhaps also served in Co. A of the 27th in the Georgia Militia as reported in 1928.

SKIPPER, Mary Catherine (WOODS) - 28 NOV 1829-10 SEP 1880, marble marker read "died in faith," daughter of Isaac W. & Eliza(beth) (PATTERSON) WOODS; m. ca. 1848 Dale Co, AL, to Jacob S. SKIPPER, b. 1823 NC, d. 11 JUN 1865 in Civil War service, buried at Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, VA, *The Columbus Enquirer*, 04 FEB 1955, pp. 1 & 8, and research of descendant Gwen (GRANT) BRYAN.

STATHAM, Nancy (GOLDSMITH) – b. 1801 Oglethorpe Co, GA, d. after 1880. Daughter of John & Lovey (CASWELL) GOLDSMITH, she m. 12 JUL 1816 Putnam Co, GA to Pleasant STATHAM, Sr., who d. 01 DEC 1845 in Barbour Co, AL. Nancy received pension benefits for her husband's service in the War of 1812. As a widow, she heads a household on the 1850 and 1860 censuses of Muscogee Co, GA, and in 1880 she is present in the household of her son and daughter-in-law Robert J. & Elvira (ABNEY) STATHAM in Brownville, Lee Co, AL, at which time the family were working at Clapp's Factory. Nancy's burial at Clapp's Factory is speculative, but a strong possibility. [LAND]

WARREN? – concrete slab showing W A R N (only legible markings), which had slid down the north side of the hill and rested in an upright position – reported by June & Lewis HANNA on 28 JUN 1984

WEEMS?, stillborn infant [evidently of J. W. WEEMS, who ordered the funeral services], d. 06 OCT 1899, apparently at the residence on Front Street in Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA. Burial at Clapp's [Factory Cemetery] on 07 OCT 1899, arrangements by Torbert Funeral Home. Coffin size two feet, made by Simmons; cost of services, \$4.00 [per entry #118 of *Funeral Record and Price List, 03 JAN 1899-19 AUG 1899*].

14 additional relatives of Emily "Emma" (HILL) WATSON, daughter of Sarah (WATSON) HILL above. Emma (b. 09 APR 1870 in Lee Co, AL, d. 30 JUL 1968 in Columbus, Muscogee Co, GA) and her husband Albert R. WATSON (14 SEP 1882- 30 NOV 1972) are buried at the Double Churches Cemetery in (now Columbus) Muscogee Co, GA. Her husband is evidently her double first cousin, and besides her marriage and that of her parents, there were at least two other HILL-WATSON marriages, as her mother's brother married her father's sister (Albert's parents) and another HILL sister married another WATSON brother. Emma's fourteen relatives, in addition to her mother, buried at Clapp's were mentioned in an interview with Emma WATSON quoted in a 1955 newspaper article about the cemetery, and could conceivably include: Jesse HILL, Dicey (COGGINS) HILL, Charlotte (JONES) HILL, perhaps Sophronia HILL, and Burree HILL (per pp. 1 & 8, *The Columbus Enquirer*, 04 FEB 1955 and information provided by Cynthia NASON).

Approximately 20 Confederate soldiers from GA and AL, some or all of whom may have fallen in the Battle of Columbus, 16-17 APR 1865 –grave markers known to have been placed but no longer remaining, pp. 1 & 8, *The Columbus Enquirer*, 04 FEB 1955.

Purportedly, Native Americans were buried at this site (prior to its use by European-American settlers), and possibly slaves or former slaves as well. A survey reported in 1984 showed poured concrete bases for two small headstones, but without the stones, and two square concrete markers inset with squares of metal marked with numbers ("0197" on one, and "9" over "1 29" on the other), which may have been bases for gate posts or were perhaps set as benchmarks.

In addition to the surnames mentioned above, others may include: BIRD and HOPKINS.

RIVERDALE CEMETARY RECORDS COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

NOTE: This extract, sixth of a series, is copied from a record made in 1945 by the LDS Church for its Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (Catalog No. 8740143, Microfilm: GA c11b). One of four public cemeteries in Columbus, Riverdale Cemetery originated in 1890. This index included burials through 1943. No attempt to confirm name spelling or dates has been made by this journal. Researchers may wish to authenticate the information by viewing the records at the Sexton's Office: call (706) 653-4579 for directions and hours.

JACKSON

A. E., b. 28 Mar. 1892, d. 15 May 1939.

Bessie May, b. 8 Aug. 1895, d. 2 Dec. 1926.

Charles Henry, b. 25 Mar. 1902, d. 17 Jan. 1914.

Clara Frances, b. 7 May 1924, d. 1 Oct. 1926.

Clements E., b. 9 Aug. 1879, d. 3 May 1911.

Emma, b. 1 Aug. 1858, d. 3 May 1932. Wife of Surus W. Darnell.

Gertrude, b. 1884, d. 1939.

I. J., b. 31 Aug. 1864, d. 17 Sept. 1913.

J. Clinton, b. 19 Feb. 1854, d. 25 Oct. 1937.

Junita, (Mrs.), b. 18 Mar. 1915, d. 22 Sept. 1938?

Martha, b. 1848, d. 1932.

Mollie Reece, b. about 1882, at Sumpter Co. Ga., dau. of W. J. Reece
and Mary Brown, d. 9 Sept. 1940.

Mollie Reese, b. 8 Oct. 1863, d. 9 Sept. 1940.

R. F., b. 13 Feb. 1893, d. 8 July 1922.

Tenna Josie, b. 3 Dec. 1904, d. 28 Aug. 1935. Wife of George Toda.

Virgie Lee, b. 28 May 1909, d. 3 July 1927.

William F., d. 1942. Husband of Mrs. E. Jackson.

William F., b. 5 Sept. 1915, at Columbus Ga., s. of -, d. age 26 yrs. Dead on
arrival from Macon Ga. Staff Sgt. U. S. Army.

JACOBS

Newton N. (Jr.), b. 1924, d. 1928.

JAMERSON

Luther A., b. 25 Nov. 1903, d. 23 Oct. 1942, age 39 yrs.

JAMES

Blanche Clara, b. 9 Nov. 1865, at London England, d. 25 Aug. 1942. Wife of
Frances Walter James.

Charles A., b. 13 June 1892, at Ala., s. of Johnnie James and Mary Dikes,
d. 24 Apr. 1940.

Francis Walter, b. 13 July 1864, d. 10 Oct. 1934. Husband of Blanche Clara James.

Jacob A., b. 1884, d. 1933.

Oscar Monroe, b. 4 Mar. 1916, d. 25 July 1924.

Sallie Bond, b. 2 Mar. 1878, d. 9 Jan. 1936. Wife of C. N. James.

JARVIS

Ralph Glenis, b. 9 Jan. 1894, d. 7 Dec. 1934.

JEFFERSON

Emory Rollin, b. 1877, d. 1928.

JENKINS

Edgar, d. 24 Feb. 1942, at Milledgeville, Ga., age 41 yrs.

Eliza M., b. 16 Feb. 1859, d. 19 Jan. 1910. Wife of Benjamin F. Johnson.

James E., b. 22 Aug. 1849, d. 27 Nov. 1935.

James H., d. 7 Dec. 1942, age 41 yrs.

John O., b. 10 Nov. 1871, d. 1 Jan. 1931.

William L., b. 22 Oct. 1871, d. 22 June 1931.

L. R. (Mrs.), b. 25 Feb. 1892, d. 11 Aug. 1926.

Lula Willis, b. 25 Oct. 1872, d. 1 Apr. 1930.

Melda (Mrs.), b. 12 Jan. 1865, d. 28 May 1929.

Moses J., b. 6 Nov. 1873, d. 2 Nov. 1934.

Thomas E., b. 11 Feb. 1861, at Harris Co. Ga., s. of Benjamin Jenkins and Mary
Ferguson, d. 21 July 1940., at Columbus, Ga.

JENNINGS

Ada, b. 28 Mar. 1874, d. 5 July 1935. Wife of Daniel W. Long.

JENSEN

Anna Margaret, b. 21 Sept. 1852, d. 12 May 1903. Wife of J. H. W. Luetfe.

JERMGAN

Price, b. 1909, d. 1931.

JESSUP

Bellah Lammon, b. 20 Feb. 1867, d. 31 Oct. 1934.

JHIRIKILL

Arretta, b. 7 Aug. 1919, d. 18 Oct. 1920.

JIMMERSON

Luther Sutin, d. 23 Oct. 1942, age 40 yrs.

Mary (Mrs.), b. 11 Sept. 1881, d. 17 Feb. 1920.

JINNETT

Lewis Homer, b. 30 Jan. 1883, in Alabama, d. 30 Aug. 1942, at Phenix City, Alabama.

JOERG

Elbert Conrad, b. 13 Apr. 1907, s. of Robert Joerg and Mary Wells, d. 6 June 1908.

George Ridenhour, b. 21 Dec. 1922, d. 13 June 1938.

Robert Conrad, b. 23 Nov. 1858, d. 4 Apr. 1931.

Thomas Franklin, b. 15 Feb. 1889, d. 1 Dec. 1938. Georgia Capt. 1674 Infantry, 42 Div.

JOHNSON

Infant dau., b. 24 Nov. 1924, dau. of C. G. and Mattie W. Johnson. (sic.)

Infant dau., b. 19 Nov. ?1926, dau. of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Johnson. (sic.).

Infant, b. 15 Mar. 1942, in Columbus Georgia, child of William H. Johnson and
Eloise Carter, died in Columbus Georgia. Died 15 Mar. 1942.

A. M. (Mrs.), b. 27 Dec. 1841, d. 31 Jan. 1907. Wife of T. P. Johnson.

Arthur Sheeby, b. 19 Sept. 1934, d. 1 Dec. 1939.

Charlie, b. 25 Dec. 1888, s. of Jim Robert Johnson and Sarah Patton, born at Nashville Tenn,
d. 3 Jan. 1941.

Charlton L., b. 8 Feb. 1874, at Taylor County, Georgia, s. of William L. Johnson and Lenora
Childs, d. 21 Sept. 1942, husband of Eudora Cooksey.

Benjamin F., b. 1857, d. 1937.

- C. Graham, b. 26 July 1873, d. 29 Aug. 1930.
- Charlie, b. 25 Dec. 1889, d. 3 Jan. 1941.
- Clifton M., b. 8 Dec. 1921, d. 23 May 1937.
- Donald Wells, b. 23 Aug. 1919, d. 21 June 1929.
- Erie, b. 12 Apr. 1912, d. 16 July, 1919.
- Evelyn Dudley, b. 20 June 1928, d. 27 Oct. 1932.
- Edward, b., b. 24 Apr. 1875, d. 6 Dec. 1932.
- Herschel V., b. 19 May 1854, d. 15 Sept. 1918. Married to T. D. Bartlett.
- J. L. B. b. 21 Aug. 1865, d. 8 Mar. 1938.
- James B., b. 22 June 1875, d. 17 Nov. 1938.
- James H. (Dr.), b. 22 Feb. 1866, d. 11 May 1941.
- James Henry, b. 22 Feb. 1866, s. of James Johnson and Elizabeth Tallent, d. 11 May 1941,
at Columbus, Ga.
- Janie Willia, b. 10 Mar. 1858, d. 14 July 1934.
- Joseph E., b. 27 July 1874, d. 10 Apr. 1933.
- Laura H. (Mrs.), b. 7 Sept. 1866, d. 30 Dec. 1932.
- Lena Rivers (Mrs.), b. 1893, d. 1929.
- Liddie Bell, b. 16 June 1879, d. 28 Dec. 1937. Wife of W. P. Griggs.
- Lucile, b. 23 May 1906, d. 16 July 1907.
- Minnie Lee, b. 14 Jan. 1879, d. 29 Apr. 1941. Wife of Charles A. Hays.
- Odell F., b. 16 Feb. 1922, d. 12 Feb. 1939.
- R. L., b. 1869, d. 1923.
- Robert Paul, b. 10 June 1892, d. 20 May 1937.
- Roscoe Felix, b. 26 Sept. 1892, s. of James H. Johnson and Anna J. Hooks, d. 31 Jan. 1937.
Capt. Med. Corps. U. S. A. 48th Div. British Exp. Force.
- T. P., b. 3 Oct. 1839, d. 15 June 1905.

Thomas J., b. 26 Oct. 1893, d. 17 Mar. 1933.

William F., Co. L. 20 Infantry. Spanish American War.

William J. B., b. 26 Oct. 1896, d. 24 Nov. 1928.

JOHNSTON

Infant dau., b. 8 Nov. 1926, dau. of Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Johnston. (sic.).

Lue Zetlie (Inf.), b. 2 June 1921. (sic.).

Lula McManus Johnston, b. 21 Mar. 1878, d. 24 Jan. 1940.

Norwood, Infant, b. 23 Dec. 1922. (sic.).

William Thomas, b. 18 Oct. 1869, d. 13 Apr. 1933.

JONES

Infant, d. 15 Mar. 1940, child of Betty Sue Mathis and Jack Jones.

Infant of L. O., b. 12 July 1941, at Columbus, Ga., child of Lydia Fowler and L. O. Jones,
d. 12 July 1941.

Infant, b. 15 Mar. 1942, s. of Jack Jones. (sic.).

Ada Mae, b. 28 Apr. 1894, d. 3 May 1926. Wife of Fred Goins.

Alla Florida, b. 31 Dec. 1904, child of B. E. Jones and L. F. Jones, d. 27 Mar. 1910.

Annie Hines, d. 28 Dec. 1925.

Bascome T., b. 23 Jan. 1910, d. 31 Aug. 1935.

Benjamin E., b. 2 Jan. 1863, d. 2 Apr. 1910.

Benjamin L., b. 8 Feb. 1878, d. 16 Sept. 1929.

Bettie Jewell, b. 19 Feb. 1928, d. 30 Dec. 1930.

Beverly, (Infant), dau. of Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Jones, d. 28 Dec. 1927.

Cannie, b. 14 Oct. 1885, d. 9 May 1928, wife of R. T. Jones.

Charlie L., b. 25 June 1884, at Muscogee Co. Ga., s. of J. L. Jones and Ella Yarbrough,
d. 17 Dec. 1941.

Cleo T., b. 1900, d. 1927.

Clyde Singer, b. 6 July 1895, d. 12 Dec. 1935.

Cobb, b. 1893, d. 1938.

**Muscogee Genealogical Society
Annual Report for 2002**

Officers

President.....	Callie McGinnis
1 st Vice President.....	Dan Olds
2 nd Vice President.....	Mary Pitts
3 rd Vice President.....	Vacant
Treasurer.....	Sarah Sharpless
Recording Secretary.....	Kitty Thompkins
Chaplain.....	Rev. Bill Dupree (acting)
Webmaster.....	Lea Dowd

Purpose

The Muscogee Genealogical Society is dedicated to the preservation of the history of the Columbus/Original Muscogee County area and its people, as well as the education of individuals in the techniques of discovering their own heritage.

2002 Meetings

January:	Annual Business Meeting
February:	"Getting Comfortable in the Courthouse," by local attorney/genealogist John Sheftall
March:	"Albion's Seed: Early English Immigrants to America," by CSU History Professor Dr. John Lupold
April:	"Web Genealogy," by various members of the Society
September:	"What I learned This Summer: Genealogical Gleanings," by various members of the Society
October:	"An Introduction to the Chattahoochee Valley Historical Collections at the Schwob Library Archives," by Reagan Grimsley, Schwob Library/CSU Archivist
November:	"Civil War Medicine and Surgery: Better Than You've Been Led to Believe," by Dr. Ben Pike, local physician and history enthusiast

Special Events

April:	Fieldtrip. On April 6, members of the Society visited the Alabama State Archives in Montgomery for a day of research.
May:	Reception. On May 26, the Muscogee Genealogical Society held a Founders' Day Reception at St. Paul United Methodist Church. The reception was given in honor of charter and early members of the Society, as well as community members who support local history and genealogy endeavors. Over 90 people attended.

December: Christmas Banquet. On December 12, the annual Christmas Banquet was held at CSU's Turner Center. Approximately 25 people attended. Dr. Carlos Dews, Director of CSU's Carson McCullers Center, gave a short talk on McCullers' genealogy and read two of her Christmas stories.

Publications

During 2002, two issues (volume 13, nos. 1 & 2) of *Muscogiana* were published. Dr. Hugh Rodgers is editor of the journal. Editorial Board members are Lea Dowd, Dan Olds, Reagan Grimsley and Ken Thomas.

Website

The Society continued to maintain its website that had been mounted in 2000. The URL for this website is <http://www.muscogeegenealogy.com>. Lea Dowd is the creator of the site and serves as webmaster. The MGS website contains actual data from Muscogee and surrounding counties as well as many useful links.

Memberships

At the end of 2002, there were 135 paid memberships and a total of 154 members. Of the memberships, 108 were individual memberships, 19 were family memberships, 7 were for institutions and 1 was a life membership.

In Memoriam

The Society mourns the loss of the following long-time members and supporters:

Nancy Lee Bailey
Dorothy Murphy
George Murphy
Charlotte Saunders
Buster Wright
Patricia Greathouse

Financial Report

General Fund

Beginning Balance—January 1, 2002	4322.21
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Receipts

Membership Dues	2445.00
Contributions—General Fund	171.00
Book Fund Contributions	353.00
From Endowment	2429.73
Endowment Fund Contributions	50.00
Publications Fund Contributions	50.00
Christmas Banquet	300.00
	<u>5798.73</u>

Total Receipts

10,120.94

Disbursements

Postage	477.74
<i>Muscogiana</i>	1357.75
Christmas Banquet (2001)	375.00
Christmas Banquet (2002)	74.00
Founders' Day Reception	82.83
Books	1162.00
GA Historical Society Membership	45.00
Sec. of State Registration	15.00
Transfer to Endowment Fund	40.00
Total Disbursements	<u>3929.32</u>

Ending Balance—December 31, 2002

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3237.46

Publications Fund Balance

1085.43

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MUSCOGEE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

P. O. Box 761
Columbus, Georgia 31902

Webpage: www.muscogeegenealogy.com

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Second Vice-President	Mary Pitts
Third Vice-President	Vacant
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Recording Secretary	Kitty Thompson
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Dues

Individual	\$15.00
Family	\$20.00
Library	\$20.00
Life	\$300.00

Annual membership dues include subscription to the biannual publication *Muscogiana: Journal of the Muscogee Genealogical Society*, ISSN 1042-3419. Those with family memberships will receive only one journal per family. Annual membership runs from January through December. Half year membership is available; however, only one journal will be received.

Publications

Muscogiana - \$7.00 for each issue.

Vol. 1, No. 3	Vol. 6, Nos. 3&4	Vol. 10, Nos.3&4
Vol. 1, No. 4	Vol. 6, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 11,Nos. 1&2
Vol. 2, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 11,Nos. 3&4
Vol. 3, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 7, Nos. 3&4	Vol. 12, No. 1
Vol. 3, Nos. 3&4	Vol. 8, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 12, No. 2
Vol. 4, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 8, Nos. 3&4	Vol. 13, No. 1
Vol. 4, Nos. 3&4	Vol. 9, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 13, No. 2
Vol. 5, Nos. 1&2	Vol. 9, Nos. 3&4	
Vol. 5, Nos. 3&4	Vol. 10, Nos.1&2	

Tote bag. Made of canvas, measuring 15" by 16", with a genealogical quip and the name of the Society.
Cost: \$ 7.50.

Purpose

The Muscogee Genealogical Society is dedicated to the preservation of the history of the Columbus/Original Muscogee county area and its people, as well as the education of individuals in the techniques of discovering their own heritage.

MUSCOGIANA

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